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# **TRANSACTIONS**

**IN**

## **SCOTLAND,**

**IN THE YEARS**

**1715-16, AND 1745-46.**

*ENTERED IN STATIONER'S HALL.*

**HISTORY**  
**OF THE**  
**TRANSACTIONS**  
**In Scotland,**

**IN THE YEARS**  
**1715-16, AND 1745-46:**

**CONTAINING**  
**AN IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT OF THE OCCURRENCES OF THESE YEARS;**  
**TOGETHER WITH**  
**AN AUTHENTIC DETAIL**  
**OF THE DANGERS PRINCE CHARLES ENCOUNTERED**  
**AFTER THE BATTLE OF CULLODEN,**  
**WITH**  
**A SHORT SKETCH OF HIS LIFE;**  
**INTERSPERSED WITH A VARIETY OF ANECDOTES,**  
**NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.**

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**By GEORGE CHARLES.**

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**IN TWO VOLUMES.**

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**VOL. II.**

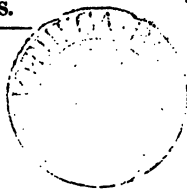
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# TRANSACTIONS

IN

**Scotland,**

DURING THE YEARS 1745-46.

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THE unsuccessful issue of the ill-conducted enterprise of the Chevalier de St George in 1715, did not extinguish the hopes of his friends in Scotland; they looked forward to the period when some favourable opportunity would occur, and their efforts to restore his family to the throne would be crowned with success. The existing government, however, watched with such anxious care every movement of its supposed enemies, that it crushed in embryo all the attempts that were made to disturb the public tranquillity. Notwithstanding its vigilance, a secret correspondence was kept up between the Chevalier and his friends, in which he encouraged them to hope that their expectations would be realised; he flattered them also with being soon

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Projected Invasion of Great Britain.

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able to join them, backed by all the power of France, and to bind them still closer to his interest, supplied them occasionally with money and arms. They were ready, therefore, on the first intimation of a descent, to take the field, and support, with all their means, the fortunes of the exiled family.

The free discussion of the measures of government, and the loud clamours raised by the people against what they deem an infringement of their privileges, impress foreigners with the idea that the country is often ripe for revolt, when it is nothing more than the effect of that freedom, the pride and boast of our country, and which is so well calculated to correct the follies of those in power. The parliamentary disputes in 1743 were carried on with so much acrimony, and the people gave such implicit confidence to the assertions of those who represented the nation as being uselessly burdened and oppressed for purposes destructive of British liberty, that a general dissatisfaction prevailed throughout the country, and it appeared to the French ministry a favourable period for assisting the Chevalier de St George to recover his crown.

This project was agreeable to cardinal de Tencin, who had succeeded Fleury as prime minister of France. He was of a violent enterprising temper. He had been recommended to the purple by the Chevalier de St George, and was warmly attached to the Stuart family. His ambition was flattered with a prospect of giving a king to Great Britain,

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Projected Invasion of Great Britain.

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of performing such eminent service to his benefactor, and of restoring to the throne of their ancestors, a family connected by the ties of blood with all the greatest princes of Europe. He foresaw, that even if his aim should miscarry, a descent upon Great Britain would make a considerable diversion from the continent in favour of France, and embroil and embarrass his Britannic Majesty, who was the chief support of the house of Austria and all its allies. Actuated by these motives, he concerted measures with the Chevalier de St George at Rome, who being too much advanced in years to engage personally in such an expedition, agreed to delegate his pretensions and authority to his son Charles, a youth of promising talents, sage, secret, brave, and enterprising; amiable in his person, grave, and even reserved in his deportment. He approved himself in the sequel composed and moderate in success, wonderfully firm in adversity; and, though tenderly nursed in all the delights of an effeminate country, and gentle climate, patient almost beyond belief of cold, hunger, and fatigue. \*

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\* Charles Edward, eldest son of James VIII., by the Princess Maria Clementina, daughter of Prince James, son of the famous John Sobieski, king of Poland, was born 20th December, 1720. The midwife held him up in her arms, and with great warmth said, "There is no impostor here; lo, a real Prince is born!" While a boy he gave early symptoms of a great spirit. One day the Pope was riding in his chariot through Rome; Charles in another came up with him, and fearing the holy father should



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 Projected Invasion of Great Britain.
 

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Count Saxe was appointed by the French king commander of the troops designed for this expedition, which amounted to fifteen thousand. They began their march to Picardy, and a great number

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turn down a street before him, he commanded his coachman to drive before his Holiness. There being a struggle between the postillions, the old man asked the matter, and being told, Charles cried out, "Stop, Sir, and let the Prince of Wales go by."

In his fourteenth year he was sent by his father to witness the siege of Gaeta, and put under the care of that gallant officer the Duke of Berwick, nephew to the Duke of Marlborough, who was then conducting the siege. "The king, his father," says the Duke, in a letter to the Duke of Fitz-James, dated at Gaeta on the 7th of August 1734, "laid his commands on me, not only to direct him, but even to shew him every thing that merited his attention; and, I must confess, that made me pass some as uneasy moments as ever I met with from the crossdest accidents of my by-past life. Just on his arrival, I conducted him to the trenches, where he shewed not the least surprise at the enemy's fire, even when the balls were hissing about his ears. I was relieved the following day from the trenches; and as the house I lodged in was very much exposed, the enemy discharged, at once, five pieces of cannon against it, which made me move my quarters. The Prince arriving a moment after, would, at any rate, go into the house, though I did all I could to dissuade him from it, by representing to him the danger he was exposing himself to, yet he staid in it a very considerable time, with an undisturbed countenance, though the walls had been pierced through with the cannon ball. In a word, this Prince discovers, that in great princes, whom nature has marked out for heroes, valour does not wait the number of years. I am now, blessed be God for it, rid of all my uneasiness, and joyfully indulge myself in the pleasure of seeing the Prince adored by officers and soldiers. His manner and conversation are really bewitching."

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Projected Invasion of Great Britain.

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of vessels was assembled for their embarkation, at Dunkirk, Calais, and Boulogne. It was determined that they should be landed in Kent, under convoy of a strong squadron equipped at Brest, and commanded by Monsieur de Roquefeuille, an officer of experience and capacity. The Chevalier de St George is said to have required the personal service of the Duke of Ormond, who excused himself on account of his advanced age: be that as it will, Prince Charles departed from Rome about the end of December, in the disguise of a Spanish courier, attended by one servant only, and furnished with passports by cardinal Aquaviva. He travelled through Tuscany to Genoa, from whence he proceeded to Savona, where he embarked for Antibes, and prosecuting his journey to Paris, was indulged with a private audience of the French king: then he set out incognito for the coast of Picardy. The British ministry being apprised of

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and you may lay your account, that were it otherwise, I would not have kept it a secret from you. We set out for Naples in a day or two, where I am pretty certain his Royal Highness will charm the Neapolitans as much as he has done our troops. The King of Naples is much taken with his polite behaviour, and there is not the least necessity of suggesting to him what is either proper for him to do or say. I wish to God, that some of the greatest sticklers in England against the family of Stuart had been eye-witnesses of this Prince's resolution during that siege, and I am firmly persuaded they would soon change their way of thinking. In his very countenance, I discover something so happy, that presages to him the greatest felicity."

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The Kingdom put in a posture of defence.

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his arrival in France, at once comprehended the destination of the armaments prepared at Brest and Boulogne. Mr Thompson, the English resident at Paris, received orders to make a remonstrance to the French ministry, on the violation of those treaties by which the Pretender to the crown of Great Britain was excluded from the territories of France. But he was given to understand, that his most Christian Majesty would not explain himself on that subject, until the king of England should have given satisfaction on the repeated complaints which had been made to him, touching the infractions of those very treaties which had been so often violated by his orders. In the month of January, M. de Roquefeuille sailed from Brest, directing his course up the English channel, with twenty ships of war. They were immediately discovered by an English cruiser, which ran into Plymouth; and the intelligence was conveyed by land to the board of admiralty. Sir John Norris was forthwith ordered to take the command of the squadron at Spithead, with which he sailed round to the Downs, where he was joined by some ships of the line from Chatham, and then he found himself at the head of a squadron considerably stronger than that of the enemy.

Several regiments marched to the southern coast of England: all governors and commanders were ordered to repair immediately to their respective posts: the forts at the mouth of the Thames and the Medway were put in a posture of defence; and

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The Kingdom put in a posture of defence.

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directions were issued to assemble the Kentish militia, to defend the coast in case of an invasion. On the fifteenth day of February, the king sent a message to both houses of parliament, intimating the arrival of the Pretender's son in France, the preparations at Dunkirk, and the appearance of a French fleet in the English channel. They joined in an address, declaring their indignation and abhorrence of the design formed in favour of a popish Pretender: and assuring his Majesty, that they would, with the warmest zeal and unanimity, take such measures as would enable him to frustrate and defeat so desperate and insolent an attempt. Addresses of the same kind were presented by the city of London, both universities, the principal towns of Great Britain, the clergy, the dissenting ministers, the quakers, and almost all the corporations and communities of the kingdom. A requisition was made of the six thousand auxiliaries which the States-General were by treaty obliged to furnish on such occasions; and these were granted with great alacrity and expedition. The Earl of Stair forgetting his wrongs, took this opportunity of offering his services to the government, and was reinvested with the chief command of the forces of Great Britain. His example was followed by several noblemen of the first rank. The Duke of Montague was permitted to raise a regiment of horse, and orders were sent to bring over six thousand of the British troops from Flanders, in case the invasion should actually take place. His Majesty

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The Invasion frustrated.

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was, in another address from parliament, exhorted to augment his forces by sea and land : the habeas corpus act was suspended for six months, and several persons of distinction were apprehended on suspicion of treasonable practices : a proclamation was issued for putting the laws in execution against papists and nonjurors, who were commanded to retire ten miles from London ; and every precaution taken which seemed necessary for the preservation of the public tranquillity.

Meanwhile the French court proceeded with their preparations at Boulogne and Dunkirk, under the eye of Prince Charles ; and seven thousand men were actually embarked. M. de Roquefeuille sailed up the channel as far as Dungeness, a promontory on the coast of Kent, after having detached M. de Barreil with five ships to hasten the embarkation at Dunkirk. While the French admiral anchored off Dungeness, he perceived, on the twenty-fourth day of February, the British fleet under Sir John Norris doubling the South Foreland from the Downs ; and, though the wind was against him, taking the opportunity of the tide to come up and engage the French squadron. Roquefeuille, who little expected such a visit, could not be altogether composed, considering the great superiority of his enemies : but the tide failing, the English admiral was obliged to anchor two leagues short of the enemy. In this interval, M. Roquefeuille called a council of war, in which it was determined to avoid an engagement, weigh anchor

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The Invasion abandoned.

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at sunset, and make the best of their way to the place from whence they had set sail. This resolution was favoured by a very hard gale of wind, which began to blow from the north-east, and carried them down the channel with incredible expedition. But the same storm which, in all probability, saved their fleet from destruction, utterly disconcerted the design of invading England. A great number of their transports were driven ashore and destroyed, and the rest so damaged that they could not be speedily repaired. The English were now masters at sea, and their coast was so well guarded that the enterprize could not be prosecuted with any probability of success. The French generals nominated to serve in this expedition returned to Paris, and Prince Charles resolved to wait a more favourable opportunity. The French king no longer preserved any measures with the court of London: the British resident at Paris was given to understand, that a declaration of war must ensue; and this was actually published on the 20th of March.

A like denunciation of war against France was proclaimed on the 31st of March, with the usual solemnities. On the 5th of June Sir Hector M'Lean, George Bleau of Castlehill, and Lachlan M'Lean, Sir Hector's servant, were apprehended in Canon-gate of Edinburgh, on suspicion of being in the French service, and of enlisting men there. After several hours examination by the King's advocate and solicitor, and some gentlemen of the army,

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Prince Charles prepares for his Embarkation.

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they were committed;—Sir Hector to the castle, Mr Bleau\* to the jail of that city, and Lachlan M'Lean to that of the Canongate. They were sent under a strong guard to London, where they underwent a long examination, and were afterwards remanded back into the messenger's custody.

Although the design of invasion on a large scale was laid aside by the French ministry, they nevertheless foresaw, that the appearance of Charles in Great Britain would embarrass the government, and make a considerable diversion in their favour; and had they been hearty in his cause, a more favourable opportunity could not have been found, for Scotland was quite unfurnished with troops, King George was in Germany, and the Highland

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\* This unfortunate gentleman was naturally of a fiery disposition, so much so indeed, that in the year 1767, when in Clackmannan on a Bartles fair day, in the room of a public house, where there were promiscuous companies, a father, his son, and Mr Bleau, were disputing about some trivial affair, when the latter drew a knife and stabbed both father and son, of which the father died, and the son's life for some time was despaired of. Mr Bleau was immediately apprehended, and carried to Stirling, where he was tried for the above crime, and found guilty. Lord Kames, before passing the awful sentence, was observed to shed tears; and when addressing him, said, what made the task the more painful was their having been class-fellows. Mr Bleau complained of the shortness of the time allowed him to live, to which his Lordship replied, that the time given was long, very long, when compared to that which he gave, and could not by any means alter the time specified. Mr Bleau suffered accordingly.

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Embarks at Port St Lazare.

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chiefs were eager for insurrection. The measures which were adopted for dissolving the system of clanship and crushing their power, were viewed as innovations which they exerted themselves to discourage, and endeavoured to maintain their influence over their vassals by every means in their power. They viewed the proceedings of the existing government that were levelled against them, as acts of tyranny, and considered their acquiescence as rivetting the chains which were already forged for them; the recollection of their power, the glory of their forefathers, inspired them with hatred to the government, and they earnestly solicited the appearance of Charles, who they flattered themselves would restore their lost rights.

The young Prince entering into their views, resolved to make a vigorous effort to ascend the throne of his ancestors. Being furnished with a sum of money and a supply of arms from the French ministry, he embarked on board of a small frigate of eleven guns at port St Lazare, on the 15th of July 1745, accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, who had been his tutor, Sir John M'Donald, an officer in the Spanish service, Francis Strickland an English gentleman, Mr Kelly a clergyman, Æneas M'Donald, a banker in Paris, Kinloch-Moidart's brother-in-law, and Buchanan the messenger sent to Rome by Cardinal de Tencin. When off Belleisle he was joined by his convoy the Elizabeth, formerly



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Arrives in Lochaber.

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an English man of war, mounted with sixty-six guns, and having on board £400,000, and arms for several thousand men. Their design was to sail round Ireland, and land in the western part of Scotland; but falling in with the *Lion*, an English ship of the line, a very obstinate and bloody action ensued. The *Elizabeth* was so disabled that she could not prosecute the voyage, and with difficulty reached the harbour of Brest; and the *Lion* was shattered to such a degree, that she floated like a wreck upon the water. Prince Charles in the frigate continued his course to the western isles, and after hovering about several days, put into Boradale in Lochaber, where he landed, and went directly to the house of Mr M'Donald of Kinloch-Moidart. Here he remained in private several weeks, while some of the Highland chiefs were getting the clans together, in order to declare openly for him, and by the middle of August had assembled about eighteen hundred men, consisting of the Stuarts of Appin, the M'Donalds of Glengary, the Camerons of Lochiel, and others.

The first intelligence of his arrival was not credited by the Lords of the Regency, who even suspected the integrity of those by whom it was conveyed. But they were soon seriously alarmed when they learned that the information was true; a courier was dispatched to Holland to hasten the return of his Majesty, who arrived in England.

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A Reward offered for his Apprehension.

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the latter end of August, and the following proclamation was issued :—

“ Whereas, by an act of Parliament made in the seventeenth year of his Majesty's reign, it was enacted, that if the eldest, or any other son or sons of the person who pretended to be Prince of Wales in the life time of the late King James II., and since his decease assumed the name and title of James III. King of England, Scotland, and Ireland, should, after the 1st day of May in the year 1744, land, or attempt to land, or be found in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories thereunto belonging; or should be found on board any ship, vessel, or boat, being so on board with an intent to land in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories aforesaid, he and they respectively should, by virtue of the said act, stand, and be adjudged attainted of high treason, to all intents and purposes whatsoever. And whereas we have received information, that the eldest son of the said Pretender did lately embark in France, in order to land in some part of his Majesty's kingdoms: we being moved with just indignation at so daring an attempt, and desirous that the said act may be carried effectually into execution, have thought fit, by the advice of his Majesty's Privy Council, and do hereby, in his Majesty's name, command and require all his Majesty's officers civil and military, and all other his Majesty's loving subjects, to use their utmost endeavours to seize and secure the said son of the Pretender whenever he shall land, or attempt to land, or be found in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories belonging to the crown of Great Britain, or shall be found on board any ship, vessel, or boat, being so on board with intent to land in Great Britain or Ireland, or any of the dominions or territories aforesaid, in order to his being brought to justice; and to give notice thereof immediately, when he shall be so seized and secured, to one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State. And to the intent that all due encouragement be given to so important a service, we do hereby further, in his Majesty's name, promise a reward of thirty thousand pounds to such person or persons

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Offers a similar Reward for his Majesty.

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who shall so seize and secure the said son of the said Pretender, so as that he may be brought to justice; and his Majesty's high treasurer, or the commissioners of his Majesty's treasury for the time being, is and are hereby required to make payment thereof accordingly. And if any of the persons who have adhered to, or assisted, or who shall adhere to or assist, the said Pretender, or his said son, shall seize and secure him the said son as aforesaid, he or they who shall so seize and secure him shall have his Majesty's gracious pardon, and shall also receive the said reward, to be paid in manner aforesaid.

" Given at Whitehall the first day of August, in the nineteenth year of his Majesty's reign.

" GOD SAVE THE KING."

This proclamation was contrasted by Prince Charles offering the like sum for securing the person of his Majesty :—

" CHARLES Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of the Kingdoms of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

" Whereas we have seen a certain scandalous and malicious paper, published in the stile and form of a proclamation, bearing date the 1st instant, wherein, under pretence of bringing us to justice, like our royal ancestor King Charles the I. of blessed memory, there is a reward of thirty thousand pounds sterling, promised to those who shall deliver us into the hands of our enemies: we could not but be moved with a just indignation at so insolent an attempt. And though from our nature and principles we abhor and detest a practice so unusual among Christian princes, we cannot, but out of a just regard to the dignity of our person, promise the like reward of thirty thousand pounds sterling, to him or those who shall seize and secure, till our further orders, the person of the Elector of Hanover, whether landed, or attempting to land, in any part of his Majesty's dominions.

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Preparations made at Edinburgh to repel him.

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Should any fatal accident happen from hence, let the blame lie entirely at the door of those who first set the infamous example.

“ CHARLES, P. R.

“ Given in our camp, at Kinlocheill, August the 22d, 1745.

“ By his Highness's command,

“ JO. MURRAY.”

In the beginning of August, accounts reached Edinburgh of the debarkation of Prince Charles, and that several Highland chiefs had taken arms in his cause. On the first notice of this, Lieut.-General Sir John Cope, commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, gave the necessary orders to the troops; several parties, who were at work upon the roads, were ordered forthwith to join their respective regiments; arms and ammunition were sent to the troops and garrisons from the castle of Edinburgh; that fortress was ordered to be stored with provisions, and the garrison reinforced with two companies of Lascelles's foot; a camp was formed at Stirling; all military persons whatever in Scotland were required forthwith to repair to their respective posts; and the out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, to present themselves before Lieutenant-General Guest at Edinburgh; who, as they appeared, were ordered for Stirling, or joined to the garrison of Edinburgh castle.

Two new levied companies of Sinclair's Royal Scots foot, quartered at Perth, received orders on the 10th of August to march to Fort William. Having passed Fort Augustus, they were attacked on the 16th, by a party of Highlanders, and made

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General Cope marches against him.

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prisoners, after a stout resistance; in which two men were killed, and Captain Scot and several wounded. They were carried to the young Chevalier's quarters, and in a few days the officers, and some of the men, in all about fourteen, were liberated upon their parole. Captain Scot went to Fort William, to be cured; and Captain Thomson, Lieutenants Rose and Fergusson, and the men, came south. Meantime Captain Campbell of Inveraw, with his company, one of the three additional companies of the old highland regiment, got safe into Fort William, having gone the west road.

On the 19th, General Cope, accompanied by the Earl of Loudon, and a great many officers, set out from Edinburgh for Stirling, to put himself at the head of the army. Next day and the day following all the infantry, amounting to between 1500 and 2000, with provisions, some field-pieces, cohorns, &c. crossed the Forth by Stirling bridge, and marched by the way of Tay bridge to Inverness, where they arrived on the 29th. The Duke of Athole, accompanied by the Laird of Glengary, visited the General, &c. when encamped at Crieff.

It was expected that General Cope would have attacked Prince Charles, but having received accounts when at Dalwhinnie, that he was much superior in number, and that he lay at an advantageous pass, in expectation of his coming the Fort Augustus road, his excellency sent a detachment that way, as a blind, but marched the main

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General Cope marches against him.

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body, with the baggage, &c. the Inverness road; ordering the detachment to follow at an appointed time. This was effected with such expedition, as to prevent his being intercepted at another pass on the Inverness road.

The following extract from a letter of an officer in that expedition, gives a more particular account of General Cope's march to Inverness, and from thence to Aberdeen:—

“ Soon after the certain accounts reached us at Edinburgh, that the Pretender's son was landed at Moidart, and gathering people about him, there we were told, that, in obedience to orders, we were to hold ourselves in readiness for a march to the Chain, a name we give to the road leading from Inverness to Fort William.

“ As the country we were to march through could not afford subsistence for the troops, it was absolutely necessary to carry a stock of bread along with us. This the general caused to be provided at Leith, Stirling, and Perth, and as soon as it was got ready, we set out from Stirling, where the troops assembled.

“ It was well for us that we had a sutler well provided, and a butcher with a drove of black cattle, (which he killed for us from time to time) along with us; without this precaution, we had starved upon the march.

“ A march of regular troops, when the country was in its present situation, by themselves, was thought hazardous: but we were told, that we

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General Cope's march to Inverness.

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were to be joined at Crieff by a body of the well-affected Highlanders; and we carried 1000 arms that length along with us, to put into their hands. But it so happened, that not a man of them joined us, neither there nor any where else, till we came to Inverness.

“ It seemed to me that the general, when we came to Crieff, found reason to believe he was not to expect to be joined by any of them; for he sent back from thence, to Stirling Castle, 700 of the arms. It was well he did so; for it would have been impossible to have got them to Inverness for want of carriages.

“ However we went forward cheerfully by ourselves, notwithstanding the disappointment; and I observe it to you once for all, that, notwithstanding the many difficulties we met with in it, and the many forced marches we made, in order to pass the rivers for fear of their swelling, yet such was the heartiness of the troops for the service, that nobody was heard to complain upon the whole march.

“ At Dalwhinnie we were informed that the Prince's army was posted on and in Coiryterg, a noted pass, seventeen miles distant on our way to the Chain. The general thereupon called the commanding officers of the several corps, and laid before them the orders he had to march directly to the Chain, and his intelligence about the disposition of the rebels; desiring to have their opinion of what was proper to be done.

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General Cope's march to Inverness.

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“ The intelligence was undoubted that the enemy were to wait for us at Coiryergh; where their different parties, from the head of Loch Lochy, and Lugganauchnadrum, might easily join them. Intended to line the traverses or windings of the road, up the mountain, which are seventeen in number. In these traverses their men would be intrenched to their teeth. They are flanked by a hollow water-course, which falls from the top of the mountain; they intended to line this water-course, where their men would be well covered, as likewise numbers of them might be among the rocks, on the top of the hill. They proposed to break down the bridge at Snugburrow, which lifts the road over a steep precipice, and to place men in two hollow ways, which flank the road both ways. Formerly several of these officers had marched over that ground, and all of them unanimously agreed, that to force the rebels in it was utterly impracticable; it must inevitably be attended with the loss of all our provisions, artillery, and military stores, &c. and indeed of the troops; that the giving the rebels any success upon their first setting out, was by all means to be prevented, as it might be attended with bad consequences to the service.

“ The next question then was, whether it was most advisable to return to Stirling with all expedition, or march to Ruthven, and so on to Inverness. Upon this they were also unanimous in their opinion, that to return to Stirling was by no



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General Cope's march to Inverness.

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means advisable. The rebels could march to Stirling a nearer way than we could, by marching down the side of Loch-Rannoch. They would get to the bridge of Kynachin before us; they would break it down, and thereby cut off our retreat. This is a bridge upon Tummel, a water so rapid that it is not fordable in any place that I could hear of. To stay where we were, and thereby pretend to stop their progress southward, was folly: they could, without coming over Coiryergh, go south by roads over the mountains, practicable for them, utterly impracticable for regular troops. And, upon taking a survey of our provisions, we found, that, what from our having been under a necessity to leave a great deal of it by the way upon the march, for want of horses to bring it along, (which we found it impossible to get), and what from the great damage which that part of it which we did bring forward, had received from the rains, we had not above two days bread left that could be eat, and we were unhappily in a country that could not supply us. There was therefore no manner of choice left us—to Inverness we must go—which we did accordingly.

“ We made no longer stay there than was absolutely necessary for our preparing for our march to Aberdeen. The night before we left Inverness, we were joined by 200 of the Monroes, under the command of Captain George Monro of Culcainn, who went along with us to Aberdeen, and were

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The Highlanders proceed southward.

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the only Highlanders, not of the regular troos, who joined us in this expedition.

“ Our march to Aberdeen was no less expeditious than our former; from Crieff to Inverness, and from thence to Aberdeen, the general did not allow us to rest one day. Upon our arrival there, we found he had taken care to have transports ready, and every thing in order for carrying us to Leith by sea. We came to Dunbar on Monday the 16th of September, and all the troops were landed there on the 17th, and the artillery, &c. on the 18th, as the first and nearest place we could land at on the south side of the Frith.”

As there was nothing now to oppose the Highlanders, their main body, not exceeding 2500, with Prince Charles at their head, accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine, &c. reached the Braes of Athol on the 30th of August, and next day came to Blair. On this, the Duke of Athol, and several Perthshire and Fife gentlemen removed to Edinburgh.

All this while the magistrates and inhabitants of Edinburgh were very attentive to what passed. About the 9th of August proper orders were given to the officers of the trained-bands, constables, &c. A little after the city-guard was augmented with 30 men; and all stablers, innkeepers, &c. were required to give the captain of the guard an account of all strangers, immediately on their coming to lodge with them, on pain of £5, for every offence. On the 26th, and some days after, strict search was

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Enter Perth and Dundee.

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made through the printing houses, but without making any discovery, for some treasonable papers, said to be intituled, *A Declaration—A Commission of Regency—A Manifesto*, &c. copies of which had been dropt at Perth, inclosed in blank covers, addressed to the Sheriff-depute, Provost, &c.

Nor were the ministers of state less vigilant. Besides those formerly taken up, Alexander Fraser, some time servant to John Drummond, a captain in the French service, just come over from Holland, was committed to Edinburgh jail on the 11th of August; John M'Leod, also from Holland, on the 13th; and James Rollo of Powhouse, to Edinburgh castle, on the 23d; all by warrant of the Lord Advocate, on suspicion of treason.

When these commotions began, the Duke of Argyle, who was one the Lords Justices, was in the west of Scotland. His grace came to Edinburgh on the 16th of August, and set out for London on the 21st.

General Blakeney, who came post from London, arrived at Edinburgh on the 27th, and proceeded to Stirling. Gardiner's dragoons lay at that town, and Hamilton's in Canongate and Leith.

A detachment of the Highlanders entered Perth on the 3d of September. Next day at noon some papers were read at the cross, supposed to be those above mentioned. In the afternoon Charles entered that town, where the main body soon ren-

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Enter Perth and Dundee.

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deztvoused, and set up a standard with the motto *Tandem Triumphans*, i. e. *At length Triumphant*. On the 7th a detachment entered Dundee, where they read the papers formerly read at Perth, searched the town for horses, arms, and ammunition, and levied the public money, giving receipts. Next day, however, the ministers of the established church preached as usual, prayed for King George, and warmly exhorted their hearers to be stedfast in their loyalty, all without molestation, though some of the Highlanders were present. The ship of William Graham of Perth was seized by them at Dundee, and carried up to Perth, supposed to have some gunpowder on board. Parties of them were said to have visited some towns in Fife. The main body was at Perth on the 9th, whence the magistrates had retired to Edinburgh before, or soon after their arrival. Travellers got passes, which run in these terms, "Charles, Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging," which were subscribed by a secretary, and had a royal seal.

Accounts of the Highlanders having entered Athol came to Edinburgh on the 31st of August in the evening. At six the drum beat to arms, and Hamilton's dragoons encamped that night in St Ann's Yards. The town-council likewise met, and ordained the keys of the gates to be lodged with the captain of the guard, centries to be placed at each, and a second augmentation of the

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Preparations made at Edinburgh to repel them.

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city-guard to be made. Next night, and for some time after, a company of trained-bands mounted guard. Arms were sent from the city magazine to Leith, to arm the inhabitants. The city walls were ordered to be repaired, cannon to be placed on them, and a ditch to be thrown up, from the north side of the castle to the North Loch. To hasten these fortifications, the workmen were busied even on Sunday the 8th. That day, the latter part of 6000 stand of arms, from London, were carried to the castle from Leith. A great many of the principal inhabitants having offered to defend the city at the hazard of their lives, together with the regular trained-bands, under the command of the Lord Provost, his Majesty's Lord Lieutenant, his lordship, by the advice of the crown-lawyers, accepted their offer; and upon a proper application, a royal sign-manual, dated September 4, came to town, authorising the Lord Provost, magistrates, and council, to raise, form, discipline, and maintain at their own proper charge, by voluntary subscription of the inhabitants, one thousand foot for the defence of the city and support of his Majesty's government. A subscription was accordingly opened on the 9th September, and in two hours money for maintaining six hundred men was subscribed for, and a month's pay advanced. The same day a subscription for volunteers was opened, to which a great number of the inhabitants crowded to sign. Both subscriptions, and the enlisting of the men for the

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They cross the Forth.

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Edinburgh regiment, went on successfully. The volunteers received arms and ammunition from his Majesty's magazine, and were daily exercised. Some ministers filed among them. Glasgow, Aberdeen, and the other principal towns, were likewise taking proper measures for their own security.

Hamilton's dragoons moved their camp from St Anne's Yards to Beardford's Park, to the north of the castle, on the 4th, from thence to Leith Links on the 6th. All the vessels in the Forth lay on the south side. Fasts were observed on account of these commotions; that by appointment of the Presbytery of Edinburgh was on the 5th. Three Episcopal ministers and two gentlemen were apprehended at Stirling on the 7th, and committed, on suspicion of their intending to join the Prince's army.

About the beginning of September, a royal sign-manual came down for raising twenty independent companies in Scotland, under the direction of the Lord President.

The Highland army were at Perth on the 9th of September: thence they marched on the 11th, and on the 13th crossed the Forth, a few miles above Stirling. On their approach Gardiner's dragoons retired to Falkirk.

When this news reached Edinburgh, the magistrates, &c, immediately assembled, the trained-bands mounted guard in the Parliament house, the volunteers in the exchequer, and the Edin-

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Preparations made at Edinburgh to repel them.

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burgh regiment in the justiciary-hall. The trained-bands consisted of sixteen companies, different in number, some sixty and some one hundred men; but at that time they were fewer, as several of them had joined the gentlemen volunteers. Of these there were six companies, in number about four hundred, commanded by Captain Provost George Drummond, one of the commissioners of excise; Provost Archibald Macaulay, conservator of the Scotch privileges at Campvere; Dean of Guild James Nimmo, receiver-general of the excise duties; James Ker, jeweller, engraver in the Mint; Bailie Alexander Blackwood, merchant in Edinburgh; and Sir George Preston of Valleyfield. Besides these, there were above two hundred Seceders volunteers, commanded by Mr Bruce of Kennet: they were divided into three companies, under Captain John Moubray, wigmaker, William Beveridge, and Richard Jerment, shipmasters. Upwards of two hundred men were raised for the Edinburgh regiment, but none of the officers were appointed, except Allan Burn, adjutant. The city-guard amounted to about one hundred and twenty trained men, and had three captains. The trained-bands had the city's arms and ammunition; and the volunteers and Edinburgh regiment got arms and ammunition from the castle.

Next day, the 14th, the banks, public offices, and the most valuable effects of some private persons, were removed to the castle.

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They arrive at Linlithgow.

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On the 14th and 15th the workmen were busied in completing the scaffolding upon the ramparts, erecting palisadoes and barricades at the gates, and planting cannon on the bastions and other proper places.

Positive information was received on the 15th, in the morning, that the van of the Highland army was arrived at Linlithgow; and it was reported, that detachments of them were come to Kirkliston, Wainsburgh, and Gogar, about five or six miles west of the city. Gardiner's dragoons retired as they advanced, and drew up at Corstorphine, two miles from the city.

On receiving this news, it was proposed to General Guest, who had the chief command in the absence of General Cope, that 250 of the volunteers should march out and join the dragoons. The general accepted of them, and sent to ask fifty of the city-guard likewise. The Lord Provost at first thought it absolutely necessary for the safety of the place, that all the city-guard should be kept within the town; but upon its being remarked, that if, by complying with the general's request, the enemy's progress should be stopped, the city would thereby be effectually preserved, his lordship, instead of fifty, ordered the whole city-guard, and all the men enlisted for the Edinburgh regiment, that were not on guard in the town, to march out, and receive orders from the commanders of the King's troops. Hereupon General Guest ordered Hamilton's dragoons to



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Consternation in Edinburgh on their approach.

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decamp from Leith Links, and join Gardiner's at Corstorphine. At eleven o'clock the fire-bell rung, as the signal for the volunteers to arm, and a little after twelve, the whole city-guard, together with a detachment of the Edinburgh regiment, marched out, and halted on the east side of Colt-bridge, in expectation of being joined by the body of volunteers, who by this time began to demur, conceiving that as they had engaged to defend the town, they ought not to march out of it. One or two companies of them, however, marched to the West Port, but proceeded no farther. Then the Lord Provost sent orders to the city-guard, &c. to march forward and join the dragoons, which they did, and continued under arms till night. At nine o'clock the dragoons retired to the east side of Colt-bridge, and lay upon their arms all night, and the city-guard, &c. returned to town. All the volunteers, a great part of the trained-bands, and those of the Edinburgh regiment that had not marched to Corstorphine, continued under arms all day within the town; and at night, after placing the proper guards, consisting of about seven hundred men, the remainder received orders to be ready to appear at their respective alarm-posts whenever they should hear the fire-bell. Two small bodies of men, from about Dalkeith and Musselburgh, came in by order of the Duke of Buccleuch's factors and Sir Robert Dickson of Carberry, to assist in defending the city, and got arms and ammunition delivered to them.

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Consternation in Edinburgh on their approach.

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Next morning, the city-guard and a detachment of the Edinburgh regiment marched out again and joined the dragoons. Meantime the Highland army continued its march toward Edinburgh. On its approach, a party of dragoons posted near Corstorphine, retired to the main body at Colt-bridge, which they all quitted about three o'clock in the afternoon. The city soldiers came into the town, and the dragoons rode off by the north side of the city towards Leith, then took the road to Musselburgh, and thence to Haddington, leaving behind them their baggage and tents, which were carried into the castle.

This precipitate flight occasioned a general consternation in the city. There was certain notice got, that General Cope, with the troops under his command, was to have embarked at Aberdeen on the 14th or 15th; and the news of his landing in Lothian was hourly expected. But as no account of him was come, as the regular forces had fled, and as all the ministers of state had withdrawn from the impending danger, a great many of the inhabitants thought it high time to consult the safety of the city likewise. Accordingly a petition, signed by several citizens of great property, was presented to the magistrates and council, then assembled in the goldsmith's hall, craving that a meeting of the inhabitants should be instantly called, in order to determine what was proper to be done. The Lord Provost seemed not to relish this petition. He said, that as all the inhabitants

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Consternation in Edinburgh on their approach.

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were well armed, as some people from the country had likewise come to their assistance, and as great expences had been laid out in fortifying the city, there was no doubt but they ought to stand to their defence; and that he himself should first mount the ramparts. To this the petitioners answered, that a great many of the trained-bands were of opinion that the city was not tenable; that the sudden flight of the regular forces, made it evident they were of the same opinion; and that, if standing out for an hour or two, which was all that could be done, would bring the lives and properties of the inhabitants into certain hazard, without doing any real service to the cause intended to be served, it was certainly more eligible to capitulate upon the best terms that could be got. On this the Lord Provost, seeing a gentleman who possessed a considerable place under the government, and was formerly in the army, asked his advice. The gentleman, after commiserating his lordship's situation, in being at the head of a city so much divided in their sentiments about their own strength, gave it as his opinion, that, if all the inhabitants were of one mind, the city might perhaps hold out for a short time, but as they were divided, care should be taken that the King's arms should not fall into the hands of the enemy. His lordship, after a great deal of reasoning, agreed to call a meeting of the inhabitants, as desired by the petition.

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Consternation in Edinburgh on their approach.

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Hereupon all concerned were invited to attend in the new-church aisle. When the Lord Provost, magistrates, and a great number of the inhabitants were assembled, his lordship told them, that the magistrates had called them together for their advice; that the city had been put to very great expence in preparing for a defence; that, for his own part, he had not got a military education, and was altogether unskilled in these matters; that therefore he entreated his fellow citizens to advise what should be done in the present exigency, and he would cheerfully do what should be agreed upon by them. The point in debate was, whether or not the city should stand out? Mention having been made, in the course of the reasoning, of the assistance to be expected from the dragoons, the Lord Provost said, that he had been present at a council of war the night before, in which it was the opinion of all the officers, that the bringing the dragoons into the town, would be cooping them up to their destruction. In a little time a secretary came with a message from General Guest, from which it appeared, that a warrant had been sent to the general a few hours before, signed by the Lord Provost and Lord Advocate, empowering him, if he thought proper, to send in one hundred dragoons to assist in the defence of the city, and his excellency now wanted to know, whether the Lord Provost desired that the one hundred dragoons, or a greater number, and what number, should enter the town. When the opinion of the

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Deputies sent by the Magistrates to treat with the Chiefs.

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meeting was asked, they answered, "No dragoons." The Lord Provost then desired the secretary to tell the general, that, after what had passed in the council of war, it was to be feared, if he should call in the dragoons, and any ill consequences follow, it might be said that he had drawn them into a snare; that therefore he would not desire them: but if the general thought proper to order the whole, or any number in, the gates should be open for their reception. No dragoons, however, came. The question was then put, Whether the town should be defended? and only three or four said Yes. It was then agreed to capitulate upon the best terms that could be got; and that in the mean time the King's arms should be returned to the castle. When they were about to name deputies to treat with the Highland army, a letter was handed in, addressed to the Lord Provost and magistrates, which was ordered to be read. It began, "Whereas we are now ready to enter the beloved metropolis of our ancient kingdom of Scotland"—Here the reader was stopped, and asked by whom the letter was signed, and upon his answering that it was superscribed, "Charles, Prince of Wales," &c.—the Lord Provost would not hear it read; so the meeting broke up. The magistrates and council returned to the goldsmith's hall, and sent off the deputies. Meantime the volunteers and Edinburgh regiment marched up to the castle and returned their arms; and a party of the trained-bands and city-guard kept watch all night.

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Deputies sent by the Magistrates to treat with the Chiefs.

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About an hour after the deputies had gone out of town, a gentleman assured the council, (but his information was premature) that General Cope with the troops were landed at Dunbar, twenty miles east of the city. The magistrates, &c. regretted that the intelligence had not come an hour sooner; and the Lord Provost and some others so far renewed their thoughts of making a defence, that a gentleman was immediately dispatched to call back the deputies; but he did not come up with them. According to their instructions, they waited on the chiefs of the Highland army at Gray's-mill, about two miles south-west of Edinburgh, and proposed terms. The chiefs answered, that the declaration and manifesto emitted by their King and Prince contained the only terms any city or person were to expect; and desired to know the magistrates' resolution against two o'clock next morning. In order to protract time, deputies were again sent, to ask a few hours to consider of the terms proposed. But this was refused. A detachment of nine hundred Highlanders thereupon got orders, and marched before day, undiscovered, close to the Netherbow. They brought some barrels of powder along with them, in order to blow up the gate. But a little after their arrival, a coach happening to come down the street, the centinels, though they had orders not to let the gate be opened, permitted the porter to let out the coach, suspecting no ill consequences, when, as soon as the gate was opened, the Highlanders

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Charles takes possession of Edinburgh.

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rushed in, took possession of it, then of the main guard, making the soldiers on duty prisoners, and forthwith placed guards at all the gates, and at the weigh-house, &c. This surprised the magistrates and council, and put an end to their deliberations,

Immediately after the detachment entered the Netherbow, the castle hung out a flag, fired some guns as a signal, and required the inhabitants not to appear on the castle-hill.

About noon the main body of the army came into the King's Park, by the way of Duddingston, having made a circuit to avoid being within reach of the castle guns. The young Prince, in Highland dress, with some of the chiefs, went into the royal palace of Holyrood-house, and the troops lay in the Park. Vast numbers of people of all persuasions crowded to see him.

The detachment that entered the city in the morning, had secured the heralds, pursuivants, &c. and, betwixt twelve and one o'clock at noon, they were carried to the cross in their formalities, and there caused read, with sound of trumpet, the following declaration, commission of regency, and manifesto:—

THE DECLARATION.

“ JAMES, R.

“ JAMES the Eighth, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. to all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

“ Having always borne the most constant affection to our ancient kingdom of Scotland, from whence we derive our royal

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Issues a Declaration, &c.

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origin, and where our progenitors have swayed the sceptre with glory, through a longer succession of kings than any monarchy upon earth can at this day boast of. We cannot but behold with the deepest concern the miseries they suffer under a foreign usurpation, and the intolerable burdens daily added to their yoke, which become yet more sensible to us, when we consider the constant zeal and affection the generality of our subjects of that our ancient kingdom have expressed for us on all occasions, and particularly when we had the satisfaction of being ourselves amongst them.

“ We see a nation, always famous for valour, and highly esteemed by the greatest of foreign potentates, reduced to the condition of a province, under the specious pretence of an union with a more powerful neighbour; in consequence of this pretended union, grievous and unprecedented taxes have been laid on, and levied with severity, in spite of all the representations that could be made to the contrary; and these have not failed to produce that poverty and decay of trade, which were easily foreseen to be the necessary consequences of such oppressive measures.

“ To prevent the just resentment which could not but arise from such usage, our faithful Highlanders, a people always trained up and inured to arms, have been deprived of them; forts and citadels have been built and garrisoned, where no foreign invasion could be apprehended; and a military government has been effectually introduced, as into a conquered country. It is easy to foresee what must be the consequences of such violent and unprecedented proceedings, if a timely remedy be not put to them; neither is it less manifest, that such a remedy can never be obtained, but by our restoration to the throne of our ancestors, into whose royal hearts such destructive maxims could never find admittance.

“ We think it needless to call to mind how solicitous we have ever been, and how often we have ventured our royal person, to compass this great end, which the Divine Providence seems now to have furnished us with the means of doing effectually,



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Issues a Declaration, &c.

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by enabling our good subjects in England to shake off the yoke under which they have likewise felt their share of the common calamities. Our former experience leaves us no room to doubt of the cheerful and hearty concurrence of our Scots subjects on this occasion, towards the perfecting the great and glorious work: But that none may be deterred by the memory of past miscarriages, from returning to their duty, and being restored to the happiness they formerly enjoyed, we, in this public manner, think fit to make known our gracious intentions towards all our people.

“ We do therefore, by this our royal declaration, absolutely and effectually pardon and remit all treasons and other crimes hitherto committed against our royal father, or ourselves: from the benefit of which pardon we except none, but such as shall, after the publication hereof, wilfully and maliciously oppose us, or those who shall appear, or endeavour to appear in arms for our service.

“ We further declare, that we will, with all convenient speed, call a free parliament; that, by the advice and assistance of such an assembly, we may be enabled to repair the breaches caused by so long an usurpation, to redress all grievances, and to free our people from the unsupportable burden of the malt-tax, and all other hardships and impositions, which have been the consequences of the pretended union; that so the nation may be restored to that honour, liberty, and independence, which it formerly enjoyed.

“ We likewise promise, upon our royal word, to protect, secure, and maintain all our Protestant subjects in the free exercise of their religion, and in the full enjoyment of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and in the secure possession of all churches, universities, colleges, and schools, conform to the laws of the land.

“ All this we shall be ready to confirm in our first parliament; in which we promise to pass any act or acts that shall be judged necessary to secure each private person in the full possession of his liberty and property, to advance trade, to relieve

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Issues a Declaration, &c.

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origin, and where our progenitors have swayed the sceptre with glory, through a longer succession of kings than any monarchy upon earth can at this day boast of. We cannot but behold with the deepest concern the miseries they suffer under a foreign usurpation, and the intolerable burdens daily added to their yoke, which become yet more sensible to us, when we consider the constant zeal and affection the generality of our subjects of that our ancient kingdom have expressed for us on all occasions, and particularly when we had the satisfaction of being ourselves amongst them.

“ We see a nation, always famous for valour, and highly esteemed by the greatest of foreign potentates, reduced to the condition of a province, under the specious pretence of an union with a more powerful neighbour; in consequence of this pretended union, grievous and unprecedented taxes have been laid on, and levied with severity, in spite of all the representations that could be made to the contrary; and these have not failed to produce that poverty and decay of trade, which were easily foreseen to be the necessary consequences of such oppressive measures.

“ To prevent the just resentment which could not but arise from such usage, our faithful Highlanders, a people always trained up and inured to arms, have been deprived of them; forts and citadels have been built and garrisoned, where no foreign invasion could be apprehended; and a military government has been effectually introduced, as into a conquered country. It is easy to foresee what must be the consequences of such violent and unprecedented proceedings, if a timely remedy be not put to them; neither is it less manifest, that such a remedy can never be obtained, but by our restoration to the throne of our ancestors, into whose royal hearts such destructive maxims could never find admittance.

“ We think it needless to call to mind how solicitous we have ever been, and how often we have ventured our royal person, to compass this great end, which the Divine Providence seems now to have furnished us with the means of doing effectually,

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Issues a Declaration, &c.

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liberties: and that all our subjects, from the ages of sixteen to sixty, do, upon the setting up of our royal standard, immediately repair to it, or join themselves to such as shall first appear for us in their respective shires; and also, to seize the horses and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and whatever else may be necessary for the use of our forces.

"We also strictly command all receivers, collectors, or other persons, who may be seised of any sum or sums of money levied in the name, or for the use of the usurper, to retain such sum or sums of money in their own hands, till they can pay them to some person of distinction appearing publicly for us, and demanding the same for our use and service; whose receipt or receipts shall be a sufficient discharge for all such collectors, receivers, or other persons, their heirs, &c.

"Lastly, we do hereby require all sheriffs of shires, stewards of stewartries, and their respective deputies, magistrates of royal boroughs, and bailies of regalities, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration, at the market-crosses of their respective towns and boroughs, and there to proclaim us, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for their neglect of so necessary and important a duty.

"Given at our court at Rome, the 23d day of December 1743, in the forty-third year of our reign.

"J. R."

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THE COMMISSION OF REGENCY.

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"JAMES, R.

"Whereas we have a near prospect of being restored to the throne of our ancestors, by the good inclinations of our subjects towards us; and whereas, on account of the present situation of this country, it will be absolutely impossible for us to be in person at the first setting up of our royal standard, and even some time after: we therefore esteem it for our service, and the good of our kingdoms and dominions, to nominate and appoint, as we hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint our dearest son Charles;

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Issues a Declaration, &c.

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Prince of Wales, to be sole Regent of our kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of all our other dominions, during our absence. It is our will and intention, That our said dearest son should enjoy and exercise all that power and authority, which, according to the ancient constitution of our kingdoms, has been enjoyed and exercised by former Regents. Requiring all our faithful subjects to give all due submission and obedience to our Regent aforesaid, as immediately representing our royal person, and acting by our authority. And we do hereby revoke all commissions of regency, granted to any person or persons whatsoever. And, lastly, we hereby dispense with all formalities, and other omissions, that may be herein contained; declaring this our commission to be as firm and valid to all intents and purposes, as if it had passed our great seals, and as if it were according to the usual style and forms.

“ Given under our sign-manual and privy signet, at our court at Rome, the 23d day of December, 1743, in the forty-third year of our reign.

“ J. R.”

(L. S.)

THE PRINCE'S MANIFESTO.

“ CHARLES P. R.

“ By virtue and authority of the above commission of regency, granted unto us by the King our royal father, we are now come to execute his Majesty's will and pleasure, by setting up his royal standard, and asserting his undoubted right to the throne of his ancestors.

“ We do, therefore, in his Majesty's name, and pursuant to the tenor of his several declarations, hereby grant a free, full, and general pardon, for all treasons, rebellions, and offences whatsoever, committed at any time before the publication hereof, against our royal grandfather, his present Majesty, and ourselves. To the benefit of this pardon, we shall deem justly entitled all such of his Majesty's subjects as shall testify their willingness to

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Issues a Declaration; &c.

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accept of it, either by joining our forces with all convenient diligence; by setting up his royal standard in other places; by repairing for our service to any place where it shall be so set up; or, at least, by openly renouncing all pretended allegiance to the usurper, and all obedience to his orders, or to those of any person or persons commissioned or employed by him, or acting avowedly for him.

“ As for those who shall appear more signally zealous for the recovery of his Majesty's just rights, and the prosperity of their country, we shall take effectual care to have them rewarded according to their respective degrees and merits. And we particularly promise, as aforesaid, a full, free, and general pardon, to all officers, soldiers, and sailors, now engaged in the service of the usurper, provided that, upon the publication hereof, and before they engage in any fight or battle against his Majesty's forces, they quit the said unjust and unwarrantable service, and return to their duty, since they cannot but be sensible, that no engagements entered into with a foreign usurper, can dispense with the allegiance they owe to their natural sovereign. And, as a further encouragement to them to comply with their duty, and our commands, we promise to every such officer the same, or a higher post in our service, than that which at present he enjoys, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to him at the time of his declaring for us: and to every soldier, trooper, and dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every seaman and mariner of the fleet, who shall declare for, and serve us, all their arrears, and a whole year's pay to be given to each of them as a gratuity, as soon as ever the kingdoms shall be in a state of tranquillity.

“ We do hereby further promise and declare, in his Majesty's name, and by virtue of the above said commission, that as soon as ever that happy state is obtained, he will, by and with the advice of a free parliament, wherein no corruption nor undue influence whatsoever shall be used to bias the votes of the electors or the elected, settle, confirm, and secure all the rights, ecclesiastical and civil, of each of his respective kingdoms; his

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Issues a Declaration, &c.

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Majesty being fully resolved to maintain the church of England, as by law established, and likewise the Protestant churches of Scotland and Ireland, conformable to the laws of each respective kingdom; together with a toleration to all Protestant dissenters, he being utterly averse to all persecution and oppression whatsoever, particularly on account of conscience and religion. And we ourselves being perfectly convinced of the reasonableness and equity of the same principles, do, in consequence hereof, further promise and declare, that all his Majesty's subjects shall be by him and us maintained in the full enjoyment and possession of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, and especially of all churches, universities, colleges, and schools, conformable to the laws of the land; which shall ever be the unalterable rule of his Majesty's government, and our own actions.

“And that this our undertaking may be accompanied with as little present inconvenience as possible to the King's subjects, we do hereby authorise and require all civil officers and magistrates now in place and office, to continue, till further orders, to execute their respective employments, in our name, and by our authority, as far as may be requisite for the maintenance of common justice, order, and quiet: willing, and requiring them, at the same time, to give strict obedience to such orders and directions as may from time to time be issued out by us, or those who shall be vested with any share of our authority and power.

“We also command and require all officers of the revenue, customs, and excise, all tax-gatherers of what denomination soever, and all others who may have any part of the public money in their hands, to deliver it immediately to some principal commander authorised by us, and take his receipt for the same, which shall be to them a sufficient discharge; and in case of refusal, we authorise and charge all such our commanders, to exact the same for our use, and to be accountable for it to us, or our officers for that purpose appointed.

“And having thus sincerely, and in the presence of Almighty God, declared the true sentiments and intentions of the King our royal father, as well as our own, in this expedition, we do

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Issues a Declaration, &c.

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hereby require and command all his loving subjects to be assisting to us in the recovery of his just rights, and of their own liberties: and that all such, from the ages of sixteen to sixty, do forthwith repair to his Majesty's royal standard, or join themselves to such as shall first appear in their respective shires for his service: and also, to seize the horses and arms of all suspected persons, and all ammunition, forage, and whatever else may be necessary for the use of our forces.

" Lastly, We do hereby require all mayors, sheriffs, and other magistrates, of what denomination soever, their respective deputies, and all others to whom it may belong, to publish this our declaration at the market crosses of their respective cities, towns, and boroughs, and there to proclaim his majesty, under the penalty of being proceeded against according to law, for the neglect of so necessary and important a duty: for as we have hereby graciously and sincerely offered a free and general pardon for all that is past, so we, at the same time, seriously warn all his Majesty's subjects, that we shall leave to the rigour of the law all those who shall from henceforth oppose us, or wilfully and deliberately do or concur in any act or acts civil or military, to the let or detriment of us, our cause or title, or to the destruction, prejudice, or annoyance of those who shall, according to their duty and our intentions thus publicly signified, declare and act for us.

" Given at Paris, the 16th May, 1745.

" C. P. R."

None of the magistrates appeared in their proper habits, after this: some of them and of the other inhabitants went out of town; as several of the volunteers had done the night before, after giving up their arms.

Soon after the Highland army came into the town, a journal was published by authority, in substance as follows; " The Prince being informed

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Journal of the Highland army's march to Edinburgh.

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that Lieutenant-General Cope was to march over Coiryerg on the 27th of August, ordered his whole army to decamp, and at four o'clock in the morning marched from Aberchallader in Glengary over the hill of Coiryerg, with a resolution to fight. But General Cope, having got notice of our strength the day before, was so intimidated, that he altered his route from Coiryerg to Ruthven in Badenoch, and made such dispatch, to prevent our attacking his rear, that in two days he performed a four days march. At night when we arrived at Garvamore, our men were so vexed at General Cope's having escaped, that five hundred of them proposed to follow him, and march twenty-four miles under night in order to intercept him; but, upon mature consideration, the proposal was not thought practicable. On the 28th, we marched to Dalwhinnie, the 29th to Dalnacardich, 30th to Blair, 2d of September to Dunkeld, 3d to Perth, where we quartered till the 11th. That day we marched to Dumblain, rested the 12th, and on the 13th crossed the Forth at a ford under Balquhan. We expected to be opposed by Gardiner's dragoons, who we heard threatened to cut us to pieces if we durst attempt to cross the Forth: but as soon as they heard of our having crossed, they galloped away to Falkirk. On the 14th, we marched from Touch to Falkirk, the town of Stirling having opened its gates to receive us. Hearing that Gardiner's dragoons lay at Linlithgow, about six miles distant, the Prince ordered a detachment of



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*Journal of the Highland army's march to Edinburgh.*

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five hundred men to attack them that night in their camp. But Col. Gardiner marched off in a hurry at seven o'clock at night, and encamped at Kirkliston, six miles further east. The 15th, we encamped three miles to the east of Linlithgow; and on the 16th marched towards Corstorphine, where we received intelligence, that Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons had joined, and were ready to receive us. But their piquet guards, seeing our number, and the regularity of our march, took to their heels, and the whole dragoons fled precipitantly that evening to Musselburgh. We encamped on the 16th at Gray's-mill, where deputies from the city of Edinburgh came to demand time for drawing up a capitulation. The answer given them was, that the King's declaration and the Prince's manifesto contained such terms as every subject ought to accept with joy, and that they had no other to expect. To consider of this they were allowed four hours, and required to return a positive answer by two o'clock next morning. But no such answer coming, and a further delay being asked, the Prince refused to treat any longer; and immediately gave proper orders to a detachment of nine hundred men, who marched under night, and early in the morning rushed in at the Netherbow-gate, and took possession of the town. The Prince marched his army the 17th to Holyrood-house, and encamped in the King's Park."

The Highland army seized all the cannon, arms, and ammunition, belonging to the city, and issued

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General Cope lands at Dunbar.

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a proclamation, dated September 18, requiring all persons in Mid-Lothian, forthwith to deliver up, at the palace of Holyrood-house, all the arms and ammunition they had in their custody, on pain of being treated as rebels.

On the 19th a message was sent to the city of Edinburgh, superscribed "Charles, P. R." and subscribed "C. P. R." requiring, on pain of military execution, that one thousand tents, two thousand targets, six thousand pairs of shoes, and a proportional number of water cantines, should be furnished to the army against the 23d; and promising payment so soon as the present troubles should be over. A meeting of the inhabitants was thereupon called, and the tents, &c. ordered to be got ready. They were accordingly furnished, and 2s. 6d. laid on each pound of real rent within the city, Canongate, and Leith, for defraying the charge. About the same time some printers were compelled to print several papers for them.

The friends of the government however expected, that a stop would soon be put to the progress of the Highland army. Brigadier Fowkes, who had arrived at Edinburgh from London on the 15th, marched next day with the dragoons eastward. General Cope, with the transports, arrived off Dunbar the same day. Next day the troops were landed there; and the artillery, &c. on the 18th. The army marched from Dunbar towards Edinburgh on the 19th, and was joined by the two regiments of dragoons. The Highland army,

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which lay at Duddingstone, a mile east of Edinburgh, marched off on the morning of the 20th to meet General Cope, without leaving any men in Edinburgh. That night the two armies came in sight of each other, and next morning came to an action, a little to the north of Tranent, to the east of Preston, and to the west of Seton, about seven miles east from Edinburgh. The account published by authority at London, on the 24th September, is as follows:—

“ By an express which arrived this morning we are informed, that Sir John Cope, and the troops under his command, were attacked by the rebels on the 21st instant, at day-break, at Preston, near Seton, seven miles from Edinburgh; that the King's troops were defeated, and Sir John Cope, with about four hundred and fifty dragoons, had retired to Lauder; Brigadier Fowkes and Colonel Lascelles had got to Dunbar; but as yet we have no accounts of the particulars of this action, nor of the loss on either side. The Earls of Loudon and Home, and some of the gentlemen volunteers were at Lauder with Sir John Cope.”

The following account of the battle was published by the Highland army:—

“ The Grants of Glenmoriston joined the Prince's army, September 20. That morning his Royal Highness the Prince put himself at the head of the army at Duddingstone, and presenting his sword, said, ‘ My friends, I have flung away the scabbard.’ This was answered with a cheerful huzza. The

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army marched, and drew up on Carberry-hill, where we learned that General Cope had fallen down to the low country, east of Prestonpans. This directed our march along the brow of the hill, till we descried the enemy, upon which the Highlanders gave a shout, by way of defiance, expressing such eagerness to run down upon them, that nothing less than authority could restrain them from coming to action directly.

“Some gentlemen went out to observe their camp, and reconnoitre the ground, while the army advanced, till it came opposite to and at half a mile's distance from the enemy. These gentlemen returning, informed, that they had got into a fastness, having a very broad and deep ditch in front, the town of Preston on the right, some houses and a small morass on the left, and the Frith of Forth on the rear. This made it impracticable to attack them in front but at the greatest risk.

“That evening Mr Cope discharged several cannon at us. A gentleman who had seen their army that day, advised us, that they were above four thousand strong, besides volunteers, Seceders, &c. from Edinburgh, and several gentlemen at the head of their tenants; that General Hamilton's dragoons stood on their right, Colonel Gardiner's on the left; the regiments of Lascelles and Murray, five companies of Lees's, four of Guise's, three of the Earl of Loudon's, and a number of recruits for regiments abroad and at home, formed the centre, and that they were all in top spirits.

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“ Both armies lay upon their arms all night. Mr Cope’s threw off several cohorns, to let us understand they were alert, and had large fires at several places round their camp. Our men continued very silent, not one word was heard.

“ About three in the morning of Saturday the 21st, we got off the ground and marched eastward ; then turning north, formed a line in order to prevent the enemy’s retreat through the east country, while another body of men was posted to provide against their stealing a march upon us towards Edinburgh.

“ The disposition being made, his Royal Highness the Prince, addressed his army in these words, ‘ Follow me, gentlemen, by the assistance of God I will this day make you a free and happy people.’ We marched cheerfully on and engaged the enemy. The right wing was led on by his Grace the Duke of Perth,\* lieutenant-general, and

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\* In the month of June 1810, when the editor was at Drummond Castle, he was shewn the room and window from whence the Duke of Perth made his escape. The manner of which was as follows :—

Warrants having been issued for apprehending him, and a number of other gentlemen, he was seized in his own house, just as the cloth was laid for dinner. He entreated of the gentleman, in whose custody he was, (Captain Campbell of Inveraw) to take dinner with him “ before they should go,” who complied with the request. After dinner, over a glass of wine, the Duke asked permission to dress, and ordered his servants to tell Patie Murray (Sir Patrick Murray) to speak with him, which being

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consisted of the regiments of Clanronald, Keppoch, Glengary, and Glencoe. The left by the Right Honourable Lord George Murray, lieutenant-general, consisting of the battalions of Camerons, commanded by Lochiel; the Stuarts of Appin, by Ardsheill; one body of the M'Gregors, with Glencairneg, and the rest of the M'Gregors with the Duke of Perth's men, under Major James Drummond. The enemy's artillery played furiously upon our left, especially on Lochiel's battalions, yet only one private man was killed, and a gentleman wounded; their cannon also raked our right wing, but did no great execution. Their cannon were followed by a very regular fire of the dragoons on right and left, and this again by close platoons of all their infantry, which our men received with intrepidity, and an huzza; nor did we return the enemy's fire, till we approached them so near as that the colfin of our shot might set their whiskers on fire. The Highlanders then drew their swords, and carried all before them like a torrent, killing or making prisoners every officer of the infantry, except Major Mosman, and either one or two more, who escaped with their General."

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granted, he retired; but instead of returning, descended from a back window upon the roof of an out-house, which covered ashes, &c.; from thence he escaped into the wood, where he remained some days, until an opportunity offered of getting into the Prince's camp.

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The Prince's army found £4000 Sterling, in General Cope's military chest.

A second account of this battle, on the same authority, gives the following particulars :—

“ The signal having been given to form and attack, nothing could parallel the celerity and dextrousness with which the Highlanders performed that motion, except the courage and ardour with which they afterwards fought, and pulling of their bonnets, looking up to heaven, made a short prayer, and run forward. They received a very full fire from right to left of the enemy, which killed several; but advancing up, they discharged and threw down their muskets, and drawing their broad swords, gave a most frightful and hideous shout, rushing most furiously upon the enemy, so that in seven or eight minutes, both horse and foot were totally routed and drove from the field of battle; though it must be owned that the enemy fought very valiantly, but they could not withstand the impetuosity or rather fury of the Highlanders, and were forced to run when they could no longer resist.

“ Some dragoons formed soon after on a neighbouring eminence, but observing our men marching to attack them, fled to Dalkeith, others took shelter in the neighbouring villages, others again got to Leith; some dragoons and foot fled into Edinburgh, who discharged their loaded pistols at people in the street.

“ As the second line, which was commanded by

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the Lord Nairn, and consisted of the Athol men, Strowan's people, the M'Lachlans, &c. could not come up to have a share of the honour, and the nobility, gentry, &c. stood on horseback as a reserve, it may in justice be said, that two thousand Highland foot, unsupported by horse, and charged in front and flank with artillery and small arms, routed a regular army of above four thousand horse and foot, in an open plain, and obtained a most signal and complete victory, with a very inconsiderable loss.

"We had killed on the spot in this battle,—Captain Robert Stuart of Ardsheill's battalion; Captain Archibald M'Donald of Keppoch's; Lieutenant Allan Cameron of Lindevra, and Ensign James Cameron, of Lochiel's regiment; Captain Jas. Drummond, alias M'Gregor, mortally wounded, of the Duke of Perth's regiment; and about thirty private men; and seventy or eighty wounded.

"On the other hand the enemy had killed,—Colonel Gardiner; Captain John Stuart of Phisgill; Captains Rogers, Bishop, and Brymer, and Ensign Forbes.

"We have taken prisoners,—

"*Of Guise's regiment.*—Captain Pointz, w.\*; Lieutenants Cuming and Patton; Ensigns Wakeman and Irvine.

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\* A w. is annexed to the names of those said to have been wounded.



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*“ Lord John Murray’s. — Captain Sir Peter Murray; Lieutenant James Farquharson; Ensign Allan Campbell.*

*“ Lee’s. — Lieut.-Colonel Peter Halket; Captains Basil Cochran, Chapman, and Tatton; Lieutenants Sandilands, w. Drummond, w. Kennedy, and Hewitson, w.; Ensigns Hardwick, Archer, and Dunbar; Mr Wilson, quartermaster; Dr Young.*

*“ Murray’s. — Lieut.-Col. Clayton; Major Talbot; Captains Reid, John Cochran, Scot, Thomas Lesly, w. and Blake, w.; Lieutenants Sir Thomas Hay, w. Cranston, Disney, w. Wale, Wry, and Simms, w.; Ensigns Sutherland, Lucey, Birnie, Haldane, w. and L’Estrange; Adjutant Spencer.*

*“ Earl of Loudon’s. — Captains Mackay, Monro, and Stewart; Captain-Lieut. Macnab; Lieutenant Reed; Ensigns Grant, Ross, and Maclaggan; Mr Hugh Hunter, surgeon.*

*“ Lascelles’s. — Major Severn; Captains Barlow, Adam Drummond, Forrester, Anderson, Corbet, and Collier; Lieutenants Swinie, w. Johnston, Carrick, Dundas, and Herring, w.; Ensigns Stone, Cox, Bell, Gordon, and Goulton; Dr Drummond.*

*“ Hamilton’s Dragoons. — Lieutenant-Colonel Wright, w.; Major Bowles, w.; Cornets Jacob, w. and Nash; Quartermaster Nash; Dr Trotter.*

*“ Gardiner’s. — Lieut.-Colonel Whitney, w. (not taken); Lieut. Grafton, w.; Cornets Burroughs, w. and Alcock; Quartermaster West.*

*“ Lieut.-Colonel Whiteford, volunteer, w.; Ma-*

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for Griffith, master-gunner of Edinburgh castle, w.; Lieutenant Carrick.

“ It is computed about five hundred of the enemy were killed; and that nine hundred were wounded, and that we have taken about fourteen hundred prisoners. All their cannon, mortars, several colours, standards, abundance of horses and arms, were taken, as was all their baggage, equipage, &c.

“ The Prince, as soon as victory declared for him, mounted his horse, and put a stop to the slaughter; and finding no surgeons amongst the enemy, dispatched an officer to Edinburgh, with orders to bring all the surgeons to attend; which was accordingly done.”

In a subsequent paper it was said, that after the most strict inquiry, it appeared that only fourteen hundred and fifty-six of the Highland army were engaged.

An officer in the royal army gives the following particular detail of this action :—

“ We marched from Dunbar on the 19th towards Edinburgh. We encamped that night upon the field to the westward of Haddington, and set out from thence early the next morning.

“ On this day's march we had frequent intelligence brought, that the rebels were advancing towards us with their whole body, with a quick pace. We could not therefore get to the ground it was intended we should, having still some miles to march through a country, some part of which

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was interlined with walls. The general, therefore, thought it proper to chuse the first open ground he found; and a better spot could not have been chosen for the cavalry to be at liberty to act in. We got out of the defiles in our way, and came to the ground just in time before the enemy got up to us.

“ We had no sooner completed our disposition, and got our little army formed in excellent order, than the rebels appeared upon the high ground south of us. We then formed a full front to theirs, prepared either to wait their coming to us, or to take the first advantage for attacking them. During this interval we exchanged several huzzas with them; and probably from their not liking our disposition, they began to alter their own. They made a large detachment to their left towards Preston, (as we imagined) in order to take us in the flank, their number being vastly superior to ours.

“ Our general having upon this, with several of the officers, reconnoitred their design, immediately caused us to change our front; forming us with our right to the sea, and our left where the front had been. This disposition disappointed their project of taking us in flank; and that part of their army immediately countermarched back again.

“ From this change of theirs, we were again obliged to take new ground; which our people constantly performed with great alacrity and regular exactness, and, in all outward appearance, with a

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cheerful countenance, and eager desires to engage.

"The night coming on, the enemy so near, we could only content ourselves, with a small train of six gallopers, to throw a few shot among an advanced party of theirs that had taken possession of the church-yard of Tranent, which lay between their front and ours.

"Till about three in the morning, of a very dark night, our patrols could scarce perceive any motion they made, every thing seemed so quiet; but about this hour, the patrols reported them to be in full march, with great silence, towards the east: at four they reported, that they were continuing their march north-east. From this it appeared, they designed to attack our left flank with their main body; and, upon the general's being confirmed that this was their intention, he made a disposition in less time than one would think it possible, by which he brought our front to theirs, and secured our flanks by several dikes on our right, towards Tranent, with our left flank inclining to the sea.

"The moment this disposition was completed, three large bodies, in columns, of their picked-out Highlanders, came in apace, though in a collected body, with great swiftness. And the column which was advancing towards our right, where our train was posted, after receiving the discharge of a few pieces, almost in an instant, and before day broke, seized the train, and threw into the

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utmost confusion, a body of about one hundred foot of ours, which was posted there to guard it.

“ All remedies, in every shape, were tried by the General, Brigadier Fowke, the Earls of Loudon and Home, and the officers about them, to remedy this disorder, but in vain. This, unhappily, with the fire made (though a very irregular one) by the Highland column on our right, struck such a panic into the dragoons, that in a moment they fled, and left Gardiner, their colonel, (who was heard to call upon them to stand) to receive the wounds that left him on the field. His lieutenant-colonel, Whitney, while within his horse's length of them, coming up with his squadron to attack them, received a shot which shattered his arm, and was left by his squadron too. And, from this example, the whole body became possessed with the same fatal dread; so that it became utterly impossible for the general, or any one of the best intentioned of his officers, either to put an end to their fears, or stop their flight, though he and they did all that was in the power of men to do; and in doing it, exposed themselves in such a manner to the fire of the rebels, that I cannot account for their escaping it any other way, but that all of it was aimed at the runaway dragoons, who, in spite of all endeavours to stop them, ran away from the field through the town of Preston; Gardiner's by the defile which passes by his house, which was in our rear on the right; and Hamilton's by one on our left, north of the house of Preston.

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“ At the west end of the town of Preston, the general, with the Earls of Loudon and Home, stopped, and endeavoured by all possible means to form and bring them back to charge the enemy, now in disorder on the pursuit, but to no purpose. Upon which he put himself at their head, and made a retreat leisurely, towards the road leading south from Edinburgh to Ginglekirk, and thereby kept a body of about four hundred and fifty of them together, and carried them into Berwick next day.

“ Brigadier Fowke, seeing these things in this extremity, with the dragoons, and hearing several discharges in his rear, galloped towards it, believing that it came from a body of our foot, who might be still maintaining their ground, hoping by them to retrieve the fortune of the day. He was mistaken; it was the rebels: the smoke of their fire, and the little day light, prevented his discovering who they were, till he was close upon the right flank of their main body; and he must have fallen into their hands, if Captain Wedderburn, a foot officer of ours, had not called out aloud to him to apprize him of his danger.

“ I am told that Colonel Lascelles behaved very gallantly. Being deserted by his men, he fell into the enemy's hands upon the field; but in the hurry they were in, he found means to make his escape eastward, and got safe to Berwick.

“ I do not mention the behaviour of the officers. I saw a good many of them exerting themselves

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to rally the dragoons, before they entered the defiles through which they fled from the field. In general, I have not heard one single suggestion against any one man, who had the honour to carry the King's commission, either in the dragoons or foot, as if he had not done his duty. Neither officers nor general can divest men of dread and panic when it seizes them; He only can do that who makes the heart of man. To their being struck with a most unreasonable panic, and to no one thing else, the disgraceful event was owing. The ground was to our wish, the disposition was unexceptionable, and we were fully formed.

"I know you will expect that I should inform you what were the numbers on both sides in the action. Of our side, I am convinced we were not above fifteen hundred men who should have fought. As to them, it was so dark when they came to attack us, that I could only perceive them like a black hedge moving towards us. Some people magnify their numbers, others endeavour to lessen them; but, by the best accounts, and the most to be depended upon, (which I have been able to get) they were not less than five thousand men."

Accounts varied as to the numbers of both sides. Different computations made the Highlanders four thousand, five thousand, and above that number. Some said that General Cope's army did not exceed two thousand five hundred foot, and six or seven hundred dragoons; and others, that they were in

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whole under three thousand. But the following seems to be the truest list of the regular forces:—

*Rank and File.*

Murray's regiment of foot, .. .. .	580
Eight companies of Lascelles's, and two of Guise's, ...	570
Five companies of Lee's, .. .. .	291
Of the two Highland regiments, ... .. .	183
Gardiner's and Hamilton's dragoons, ... .. .	567
Exclusive of officers, serjeants, drums, &c. ....	2191

They were thus disposed,—

The front line, . {	Foot, ... .. .	1158	} 1407
	Dragoons, ... .. .	249	
The second line, dragoons, ... .. .		200	
The trained guard, ... .. .		100	
The baggage guard, in which were all the Highlanders,		230	
Foot at Colonel Gardiner's house, ... .. .		70	
Foot out on parties, ... .. .		66	
Dragoons out on parties, .. .. .		118	

The strokes given by the Highlanders with their swords in this action evinced proofs of their strength; not only men's hands and feet were cut off, but even the legs of horses; and what many saw may be affirmed for truth, viz. that a Highland gentleman, who led up a division, after breaking through Murray's regiment, fetching a blow at a grenadier, the poor fellow naturally got up his hand over his head, and not only had his hand lopped off, but also his scull cut above an inch deep, so that he expired on the spot.

The following speech was said to have been addressed by Sir John Cope to the army under his command, a short time before the engagement:—



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“ Gentlemen, you are just now to engage with a parcel of rabble, a parcel of brutes, being a small number of Scots Highlanders. You can expect no booty from such a poor despicable pack. I have authority to declare, that you shall have eight full hours liberty to plunder and pillage the city of Edinburgh, Leith, and suburbs, (the places which harboured and succoured them) at your discretion, with impunity.”

Prince Charles lay the 21st at Pinkie house, and next night returned to Holyrood-house. The army lay the first night about Musselburgh; afterwards came to Duddingstone, Canongate, &c. kept guard again in the city as before, and in some days after encamped at Duddingstone. The Prince lay in the camp likewise.

All the prisoners taken at the battle of Glads-muir (so called by the Highland army) were carried to Edinburgh. The officers were liberate upon their parole,—not to depart from the city, nor correspond with the enemies of the Prince; the soldiers were confined in the church and prisons of Canongate, &c.; and the wounded were taken care of. Some serjeants, corporals, and several private men, enlisted in the Highland army, but a good many of them afterwards deserted. Towards the end of the month, the private men were sent to Logirate in Athol, and the officers to Perth. About seventy or eighty of Loudon's Highland regiment, that could not be prevailed upon to enlist, were liberate, upon their swearing they would

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The Chronicles of Charles, the Young Man.

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never carry arms against the house of Stuart, and received some money each from the Prince to carry them home.

The following curious paper, intituled, "The Chronicles of Charles, the Young Man," was published about this time:—

## CHAP. I.

"1. And it came to pass in the eighth month, even in the month of August, in the year 1745, that the young man landed at Moidart, in the wilderness of Lochaber.

"2. That the prophecies of John the scribe might be fulfilled, who prophesied, saying,

"3. In the eighth month, that is, in the month of August, the young man will come again, and many will go out after him.

"4. But the people laughed him to scorn, and believed not the words of John the scribe; for they said, He is a false prophet, and prophesieth for filthy lucre; for their hearts were hardened.

"5. Howbeit the young man landed, and seven more men with him, without foreign force, or the assistance of strangers; for he reposed his trust in the affections of the subjects of his father, and many resorted to him.

"6. And he numbered his hosts, and lo they were two thousand.

"7. Now the young man was a great Prince, and of a goodly countenance, and all they that saw him loved him, and they called his name Charles.

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The Chronicles of Charles, the Young Man.

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“ 8. Moreover, he had been trained up in arms, in exercise, and in studies, even from his youth, in such as were becoming the son of a great King, and the heir-apparent of the crowns of three kingdoms.

“ 9. Yet he humbled himself in his host, he did eat as the soldiers did eat, and he lay as they did, he marched on foot before them, and encamped with them, saying, ‘ I will not dwell in ease, whilst they who fight for me suffer hardships.’

“ 10. So the soldiers conceived great love for him, and his fame spread itself abroad, for his wisdom, for his courage, and for his beauty.

“ 11. And the hearts of all men were turned towards him, and the hearts of all the women.

“ 12. Now it came to pass, that G——e the u——r had taken unto himself a concubine, wife to one of the captains of his host, and the concubine’s name was Wolmate.

“ 13. And in the spring of the same year 1745, G——e spake unto his concubine saying,

“ 14. Lo we are here perplexed with affairs of state, and with the burden of a land war, which John the scribe has brought me into, that the troops of mine own country might be brought up on British pay, and that they might be at hand when I wanted to put a bridle into the mouth of my parliament.

“ 15. Saying unto me, We will make a war on the continent, where the whole host of Britain will be too small to avail thee.

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The Chronicles of Charles, the Young Man.

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“ 16. The Kings likewise, and the rulers of other states will refuse to hire thee their armies, lest they fall under the wrath of Lewis, King of France, and he wax angry with them, and smite them.

“ 17. Thy parliament will therefore concur with thee, to take the troops of thine own country into British pay, when none other can be found.

“ 18. We will spread abroad a report, saying, The young man is coming with great aid from Lewis, and our troops must be called home.

“ 19. But we will leave the troops of Britain abroad, and we will call home those of thine own nation, who will be obedient to thy will, and whose strength will overpower the land.

“ 20. Thus shall thy power be established, and thou shalt do with thy people whatsoever seemeth good in thine eyes.

“ 21. So we made war, and mine own troops were taken into pay of Britain.

“ 22. We fought likewise, but mine own troops joined not in the fight, neither did they go forward to the battle, saying within themselves, ‘ Let the English fight and be slain, there will fewer remain alive to oppose the will of our master.’

“ 23. Wherefore the English soldiers became wroth with my soldiers, and their spirits were filled with indignation exceedingly.

“ 24. The nation likewise murmured, and the parliament refused to keep my troops in pay, and John the scribe fell with them.

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“ 25. Howbeit the war still continueth, and Lewis is waxen strong; I will therefore send my son William to go forth with the hosts of Britain and the allied hosts, and he shall have the power and the authority over them all, and he shall discomfit the host of Lewis. Did he not fight under me at Dettingen?

“ 26. As for us, we will go to Herenhausen, and live in ease, and there will be peace in our dwellings.

“ 27. I will appoint rulers over the land, who shall govern the people till our return, that we may enjoy rest.

“ 28. And Wolmate the concubine answered and said, ‘Thy will be done, O King, we will go to Herenhausen, and have our fill of love.’

## CHAP. II.

“ 1. And it came to pass when the rulers, who were left by G——e the u——r, heard that Charles was landed, and that many had resorted to him, they sent a messenger unto Cope, the commander of the host in Scotland, saying,

“ 2. Behold the young man is come, and an host is gathered unto him, go thou therefore with the armies of our King, seek him out wherever he is to be found, and fight him, and bring him unto us bound.

“ 3. Now after the messenger had delivered the will of the rulers unto Cope, one of the rulers,

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who, peradventure, sojourned in the north, and had heard the tidings, went to Cope, and they two communed together.

“ 4. And the ruler said unto Cope, Go not beyond the pass, even the strong pass of Stirling, lest the young man get between thee and it, and opens his way unto the low countries, or causes thee to fight at a disadvantage.

“ 5. But Cope answered the ruler, and said, Nay, but my orders are to fight; What are they of the young man's host? Are they not naked and unarmed? I will smite them hip and thigh; and I will deliver them unto the hand of my master.

“ 6. So Cope passed over the strong pass of Stirling, and went forward on the road as thou goest unto Fort Augustus; all the foot he carried with him, but those who rode upon horses he left behind him at Edinburgh and Stirling.

“ 7. Now Wright was commander of the horse that was left in Edinburgh, and Gardiner was commander of the horse that was left in Stirling.

“ 8. And a messenger came unto Charles in the wilderness, and said unto him, Lo Cope hath passed over the pass of Stirling, and marcheth towards thee; and his host numbereth two thousand men on foot.

“ 9. And Charles rejoiced and was exceeding glad, and his courage was kindled within him.

“ 10. And he said unto his men, Arise, let us make haste, that our enemies may not escape out of our hands.

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“ 11. And the armies of Charles were of great courage, and they made haste and ran towards Cope; and Charles marched at their head on foot.

“ 12. And tidings were brought to Cope, that Charles was coming to meet him;

“ 13. And great fear came upon Cope and all his host; and they said one unto another, What shall we do? If we go back, he will overtake us; and if we stay, we shall be slain: So Cope and his host were sorely dismayed.

“ 14. And Cope said, We will not go back, neither will we tarry here; we will turn off to another road, and get by him; peradventure we may escape out of his hands.

“ 15. So Cope led his host to Inverness, and Charles went on his way to the great river of Forth, and passed the river unto the low country; and all men flocked unto him as he went, and his host increased exceedingly.

“ 16. And the people in Stirling, and in the low country, feared greatly, for they had been told that Charles would take away their wives, and their children, and their cattle, and their goods: and they came unto Gardiner, and said, Lo we shall all perish, unless thou protectest us, we shall be cut off; and there shall not be left one that pisses against the wall.

“ 17. But Gardiner bade them be of good cheer, for he would protect them.

“ 18. Howbeit when the host of Charles approached, great fear came on Gardiner, and he

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fled before Charles, even unto the gates of Edinburgh.

“ 19. But Charles came not as a conquering enemy, but as a deliverer, and a father to his people; yea his host gave money for all things they got, and Charles entreated all men kindly.

“ 20. So the fame of his moderation reached to the outmost corners, and he made himself many friends.

“ 21. Now, when Gardiner came near unto Edinburgh, he called unto Wright the commander of the horse there, and said unto him,

“ 22. Albeit, when I was alone, I did not dare to encounter the host of Charles; yet when thou art with me, and thy horse, we will tread them under foot, and preserve this chief city for our master.

“ 23. And Wright hearkened unto Gardiner, and said unto him, So be it, even as thou hast said, we will tread them under foot.

“ 24. So they two marched out with their horse to meet Charles, and to intimidate his soldiers.

“ 25. But when the host of Charles appeared, terror entered into Gardiner, and into Wright, and into their men, and a great trembling seized upon them, and they turned to the right, and fled into Musselburgh, which is beyond Edinburgh, about a Sabbath day's journey.

“ 26. And Charles entered into Edinburgh, the chief city of Scotland, and ancient residence of his ancestors.



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“ 27. Now it came to pass, that while Cope sojourned at Inverness, he was very sad, and his heart was sorrowful within him; and he said unto his counsellors, and to his great men that were with him,

“ 28. What shall we now do? If we return by the way we came, lo the young man is before us; if we stay here, our masters will take vengeance upon us for our disobedience to their command.

“ 29. Let us get ourselves ships, and transport ourselves to the Frith of Forth; so shall we be beyond the young man, and we may either fight or flee to England.

“ 30. So Cope embarked his host in a fleet of ships, and landed at Dunbar on the Frith of Forth, one day after Charles entered into Edinburgh the chief city.

“ 31. And men came unto Cope, saying, Surely thou knewest not the young man's army, when thou fleddest from them in the Highlands.

“ 32. They are unarmed and undisciplined, and thy soldiers are armed and trained, and now thy men on horses will tread them under foot, up then and fight, and show thyself a man; victory waiteth for thee.

“ 33. So Cope marched with his host towards Edinburgh, and encamped in the valley near unto Prestonpans: And Charles gathered together his host at Duddingstoun, and he mounted on his horse, and drew forth his sword from the scabbard, and he flung the scabbard from him, and said unto

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them, ‘ This day I will make my people a free and a happy people, or I will perish in the attempt;’ and the whole host shouted, and said, ‘ We will follow thee, and we will deliver thine enemies into thine hand.’

“ 34. And Charles led his host out from Duddingstoun, and lay on the hill above Cope, on the south as thou goest to Tranent, about the distance of eight furlongs.

“ 35. And Cope had arms and ammunition, and horses, and cannon; and Charles had few arms, and no cannon, and no horses :

“ 36. But the Lord was with Charles, and his host ran furiously down upon the host of Cope, and rooted them out, and the Lord delivered the host of Cope into the hands of Charles in that day.

“ 37. And Charles took all the baggage, and ammunition, and the cannon of Cope, and likewise his military chest; but he saved the men, and would not allow them to be destroyed.

“ 38. And Cope fled, and the ministers of the u——r fled, and the great ones of Cope’s host fled, and they all fled three hundred and twenty furlongs, even unto Berwick.

*“ Now the rest of the acts of Charles, and the mercy that he shewed, and why he warred, are they not known throughout all the Land of Cakes ?”*

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In the evening of the 21st, which was the Saturday after the Highland army came to Edinburgh; and the day on which the battle was fought, a message was sent by the Prince to the respective dwelling-houses of the ministers of that city, desiring them to continue public worship as usual. The bells accordingly rung next day; but none of the ministers appeared, so that there was sermon in none of the churches.

All demonstrations of joy on account of the victory, were forbid by the following proclamation:—

“CHARLES, Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to all his Majesty’s subjects, greeting.

“Having always had the greatest fatherly love and compassion to all our royal father’s subjects, and having, with concern, reflected on the many and heavy oppressions they have groaned under, during this long usurpation, we were, from these motives, influenced to undertake this present enterprise, which it has pleased Almighty God to favour, by granting us hitherto a most surprising success.

“And whereas it has been represented to us by many of our loyal subjects, that many of the inhabitants of our ancient city of Edinburgh, intended to testify their joy upon our late victory at Gladsmuir, by public rejoicings usual upon the like occasions, we, reflecting, that however glorious the late victory may have been to us, and however beneficial to the nation in general, as the principal means under God for the recovery of their liberty; yet in so far as it has been obtained by the effusion of the blood of his Majesty’s subjects, and has involved many unfortunate people in great calamity, we hereby forbid any outward demonstrations of public joy; admonishing all true friends to their King

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and country, to return thanks to God for his goodness towards them, as we hereby do for ourselves by this our public proclamation.

" And we hereby again repeat what we have so often declared, that no interruption shall be given to public worship, but, on the contrary, all protection to those concerned in it: and if, notwithstanding hereof, any shall be found neglecting their duty in that particular, let the blame lie entirely at their own door, as we are resolved to inflict no penalty that may possibly look like persecution.

" Given at our palace of Holyrood-house, the 23d day of September, 1745 years, and of his Majesty's reign the forty-fifth year.

" By his Highness's command.

" J. MURRAY."

None of the ministers, however, returned to their churches; but Mr Hog, morning lecturer in the Tron church, continued to preach as formerly, without disturbance. Mr Macvicar and Mr Pitcairn, in the West-kirk, likewise continued to preach, prayed for King George, and warmly recommended loyalty. Numbers from the city went to hear them, and there was no disturbance.

Of the same date, this proclamation was issued:—

" CHARLES, Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

" Whereas it is highly necessary that all the inhabitants of Edinburgh, and liberties thereof, be secured and protected in their persons, goods, and effects; as also, that all the farmers horses within five miles of Edinburgh, be secured and protected to them, and that country people from all quarters pass and re-

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pass to Edinburgh, without disturbance, about their lawful business.

“ We therefore hereby grant protection to the inhabitants of our ancient city of Edinburgh, and liberties thereof, to the farmers horses, and country people, from all insults, seizures, injuries, and abuses of our army against them respectively. The farmers, before they are entitled to this protection, always enacting themselves in the Secretary's office at our palace of Holyrood-house, that they shall be ready, on twelve hours warning, to furnish us with horses, for carrying the baggage of our army to Berwick-upon-Tweed, or the like distance, according to their plowgates.

“ Given at the Abbey of Holyrood-house, the 23d day of September, 1745 years.

“ By his Highness's command.

“ J. MURRAY.”

On pretence of searching for arms, there were irregularities committed; very often by persons who wore white cockades, and yet did not belong to the army. It is however certain, that several of the private men among the Highlanders were likewise criminal. As they carried their arms always about with them, and as there was little probability of discovering delinquents, so as to get redress, people were afraid to make opposition to their demands, which were, however, very moderate. They would sometimes present their piece; and, upon being asked what they wanted, answer, a penny; with which they would rest satisfied. To put a stop to these irregularities, and prevent thefts and robberies, the following proclamations were published:—

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*" Abbey, 23d September, 1745.*

" These are declaring, that it is his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's will, that it be proclaimed immediately over the market crosses of Edinburgh, That if any soldier or other in his Royal Highness's army, shall be guilty of any abuse, in taking, pillaging, or disturbing any of the good people of Edinburgh, or in the country, by forcibly taking away any of their goods, without making a fair bargain, and payment made, shall be punished, whenever taken up, and found guilty of the above offences by a court-martial, and shall suffer death, or whatever other punishment the court-martial shall think fit to inflict upon them; it being his Royal Highness's unalterable resolution to protect the country in the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges. It is also declared, That no officer or soldier shall, of themselves, seize or take any horse, upon any account whatsoever, (except any horses belonging to the enemy in time of action, in arms against his Royal Highness) without a signed order from a general officer.

" Signed by his Royal Highness's order, by me,

" GEORGE MURRAY,

" One of his Highness's Lieutenant-Generals."

" CHARLES, Prince of Wales, Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

" Whereas several arms, tents, horses, and military stores of different kinds, taken by our army at the battle of Gladsmuir, and also arms properly belonging to our army, have been sold, given away, and purloined by people in Edinburgh, and the adjacent country.

" We therefore do hereby require all persons whatsoever possess of such arms, tents, horses, military stores, or locks, or other parts of such arms, to return the same at the Secretary's office at our palace of Holyrood-house, within forty-eight hours after the publication hereof, where they shall receive payment for the same: But if, at any time hereafter, it shall be discovered

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that any person or persons, shall receive any of the above, or refuse now to obey this order, upon evidence of the fact, all military execution shall be ordered against them.

“ Given at our palace of Holyrood-house, the 30th day of September, 1745.

“ By his Highness’s command.

“ J. MURRAY.”

The following was issued on the 24th :—

“ CHARLES, Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

“ Whereas we are informed, that several of our subjects, as well clergy as laity, in our ancient city of Edinburgh and neighbourhood thereof, did associate and take up arms against us ; and that many of them fled from their houses, lest they had been prosecuted and made examples of, as their crimes deserved.

“ And whereas we have nothing at heart but the good of all our subjects, how much soever deluded by the prejudice of education or mistaken interest ; and being always disposed, as a true father of our country, to display that mercy and tenderness natural to us, and the distinguishing characteristic of our family.

“ We do therefore, in his Majesty’s name, hereby grant a full pardon to the persons associate, as aforesaid, for all treasons, rebellions, and offences whatsoever, committed by them at any time before the publication of these presents, whether against our royal grandfather, of blessed memory, his present Majesty, or ourselves, dispensing with the generality hereof, and admitting the same to be as effectual to all intents and purposes, as if all their names had been herein set down. Provided always, that the persons aforesaid present themselves within twenty days after the publication hereof, to our trusty and beloved counselor, John Murray of Broughtoun, Esq. our Secretary, or any one of our Council appointed for that purpose, at our palace of Holyrood-house, or where else we shall be for the time, with a

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declaration that they shall live for the future as quiet and peaceable subjects to us and our government, otherwise these presents to be of no effect to them.

“ Given at our palace of Holyrood-house, the 24th day of September, and of his Majesty's reign the forty-fifth year, 1745.

“ CHARLES, P. R.

“ By his Highness's command.

“ J. MURRAY.”

A few of the volunteers did accordingly present themselves; others absconded before the expiry of the twenty days, and a great many continued peaceably about their business, without presenting themselves.

Another was issued on the 25th; in which, upon a narrative of the great inconveniencies that had attended the removal of the two banks into the castle, and from an opinion industriously spread, as if the Prince intended to seize the money wherever it was found; he declared, that the money lodged in the banks should be entirely sure under his protection, and free from all contributions to be exacted by him in any time coming, so that the banks might return to their former business with safety; and that he himself should contribute so far in the re-establishment of public credit, as to receive and issue bank-notes in payments. Neither of the banks, however, resumed their business. But, some time after this, a demand was made of a considerable sum in



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payment of notes which the army were possessed of; and the directors provided the money.

Letters, of date the 30th, were sent to the following persons:—

*To the Chief Magistrates of all Boroughs in Scotland.*

*“ Holyrood-house, Sept. 30, 1745.*

“ You are hereby ordered, upon receipt of this, to repair to the Secretary’s office in the palace of Holyrood-house, there to have the contribution to be paid by your town of —, for his Highness’s use, ascertained, which shall be done according, and in proportion to the duties of Excise arising out of the said town of —, for the repayment of which contribution, the said duty shall be assigned. This you are ordered, upon pain of rebellion, forthwith to obey.

“ By his Highness’s command.

“ J. MURRAY.”

*To the Collectors of the Land-tax of all the Shires in Scotland.*

*“ Holyrood-house, Sept. 30, 1745.*

“ You are hereby required forthwith to repair to the Secretary’s office at the palace of Holyrood-house, there to produce your books of administration of the land-tax, and to bring in with you whatever balance you have in your hands, for his Highness’s service, for which you shall receive sufficient exoneration. And if this demand is not forthwith complied with, you shall be deemed guilty of rebellion, and military execution shall be ordered against your person and effects.

“ By his Highness’s command.

“ J. MURRAY.”

*To the Collectors and Comptrollers of Customs.*

*“ Holyrood-house, Sept. 30, 1745.*

“ You are hereby ordered, upon receipt of this, forthwith to repair to the Secretary’s office in the palace of Holyrood-house, with the Custom-house books under your care, that all the

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money, due upon the said books to his Majesty, may be paid in to his Royal Highness, for his use, for which you shall receive sufficient exoneration. This you are ordered to comply with, upon pain of high treason, and military execution to be done against your person and effects.

“ By his Highness's command.

“ J. MURRAY.”

Great numbers found themselves obliged to comply. The goods in the custom-house of Leith, &c. were sold out for the Prince's use.

A demand was made upon the city of Glasgow, and compromised by payment of £5,500.

The passages of the Forth at Kinghorn, Queensferry, &c. and all navigation was in a manner blocked up by the King's ships.

Though the Highland army kept guards in the weigh-house and in the Grassmarket, no disturbance was given them from the castle till the 25th. That night there was some firing of cannon and small arms. Some of the cannon balls struck against or went into some houses at the West-port, but did little damage. On the 29th, the guard in the weigh-house received orders not to let any pass or repass to or from the castle. At night a letter was sent by General Guest to the Lord Provost, intimating, that unless the communication between the city and castle were kept open, he would be obliged to make use of cannon for dislodging the Highland guards. It was said his excellency had an order from court to distress the city in case it did not furnish provisions to the garrison. A

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message was sent to the castle, and obtained a respite for that night. Next morning six deputies waited on the Prince, and shewed him General Guest's letter. He immediately gave them the following answer in writing:—

“GENTLEMEN,

“I am equally surprised and concerned at the barbarity of the orders that have been signified to you from the castle, and which those who command in it say they have received from the Elector of Hanover, at the same time that they own they have six weeks provisions left. If he looked upon you as his subjects, he would never exact from you what he knows it is not in your power to do. And should we, out of compassion to you, comply with this extravagant demand of his, he might as well summon us to quit the town, and abandon those advantages which Providence has granted us, by crowning the valour of our troops with such signal success. I shall be heartily sorry for any mischief that may befall the city, and shall make it my peculiar care to indemnify you in the most ample manner. In the mean time, I shall make full reprisals upon the estates of those who are now in the castle, and even upon all who are known to be open abettors of the German government, if I am forced to it by the continuance of such inhumanities.

“CHARLES, P. R.

“Holyrood-house, Sept. 30, 1745.”

There were some meetings of the inhabitants called upon this affair, and deputies were sent oftener than once to the castle. At last a respite was obtained for a day, and afterwards for six days, in case no attack was made upon the castle, so as the city might have time to get a mitigation of the order from London. And an express was sent off for that purpose.

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In the afternoon of the 1st of October, the Highland centinels fired ; whether at the castle, or, as was given out by themselves, to frighten people that were carrying up provisions, is uncertain : but thereupon the castle fired a good many cannon and small shot, which damaged some houses, and wounded one of the Highland centinels, and a servant maid. Next day the Prince published this proclamation :—

“ CHARLES, P. R.

“ Being resolved that no communication shall be open between the castle and town of Edinburgh, during our residence in this capital ; and to prevent the bad effects of reciprocal firing from thence, and from our troops, whereby the inhabitants and houses of our city may innocently suffer : We hereby make public intimation, that none shall dare, without a special pass signed by our Secretary, upon pain of death, either to resort to, or come from, the said castle, upon any pretence whatsoever, with certification, that any person convicted of having had any such intercourse, after this our proclamation, shall be immediately carried to execution.

“ Given at our palace of Holyrood-house, the 2d day of October, 1745 years.

“ By his Highness’s command.

“ J. MURRAY.”

It was now dangerous to be in sight of the castle ; for they fired wherever they saw Highlanders, and by that means killed and wounded several of the townsmen.

On the 3d, a guard was placed at the West-kirk, and another at Livingston’s Yards, in order more closely to block up the castle. But the same day,

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one the soldiers slipped out, set fire to a house that defended the guard at the place last named, shot one of them dead, and returned safe. A little after, a party sallied out, killed some more of the guard, took an officer and a few men prisoners, and put the rest to flight.

On the 4th at noon, notice was sent to the inhabitants to remove from the north parts of James's Court, and places adjacent, lest some balls might chance to come that way. A few hours after, a terrible cannonading began. When it became dark, a party sallied out from the castle, and set fire to a founding-house, and another house which was deserted by the inhabitants. This occasioned a great consternation. Meantime the salliers threw up a trench across the castle-hill; and to prevent any interruption, scoured the streets with cartridge-shot from some field-pieces placed on the castle-hill, by which a merchant's book-keeper and another person were killed, and several other persons wounded. Before their return, the soldiers pillaged some of the houses that had been deserted.

The firing continued next day, and distressed the inhabitants exceedingly. Bullets did execution at the head of the Flesh-market Close, so that nobody was safe to stand on the street. Some houses were shattered. Those who lived exposed to the castle, removed, and carried out the aged and infirm at the imminent hazard of their lives. Great numbers that lived in places that were in no

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hazard, were likewise so frightened, that they ran out of town, not knowing whither. Several of the inhabitants sent off their valuable effects, and a good deal of them were lost in the confusion. It was a very affecting scene. But at night the following proclamation was issued by Charles, and published next day :—

“ CHARLES, Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

“ It is with the greatest regret that we are hourly informed of the many murders which are committed upon the innocent inhabitants of this city, by the inhuman commanders and garrison of the castle of Edinburgh, so contrary to all the laws of war, the truce granted to the city, and even exceeding the orders given upon this occasion. As we have threatened, we might justly proceed to use the powers which God has put in our hands, to chastise those who are instrumental in the ruin of this capital, by reprisals upon the estates and fortunes of those who are against us ; but we think it noways derogatory to the glory of a Prince, to suspend punishment, or alter a resolution, when thereby the lives of innocent men can be saved.

“ In consequence of this sentiment, our humanity has yielded to the barbarity of our common enemy ; the blockade of the castle is hereby taken off, and the punishment threatened suspended.

“ Given at our palace of Holyrood-house, the 5th day of October, 1745 years.

“ CHARLES, P. R.”

After this people walked the streets with safety ; but it was not convenient to be seen near any Highlanders in sight of the castle. Four or five of the towns-people were killed, and a good many

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wounded, by shot from the castle while it was blockaded. The Highlanders kept pretty much under covert, and said they did not suffer much. Notwithstanding all their endeavours to prevent it, provisions were every day carried into the castle; and no person was either killed or wounded by the Highlanders while carrying in provisions, or punished for it.

The above account of the blockade of the castle, is taken from papers published by authority or under the inspection of Prince Charles; the London Gazette contained the following account of the affair:—

“The communication between the town and castle of Edinburgh was kept open till the 29th of September; but that night the rebels took possession of all the avenues leading to the castle, in order to block it up. On the 1st of October, about eleven o'clock in the forenoon, the rebels began to dig a trench across the street, a little below the reservoir (if any trench was begun to be dug, it must have been at the back of the reservoir, not across the street). About three in the afternoon, the garrison fired on them with small arms; killed three of the rebels, and wounded the officer who commanded the party; upon which they discontinued to work at the trench. About four o'clock, some great guns were fired from the castle, which did little or no damage to the town. On the 4th, the garrison, under favour of a great fire of their cannon from the half-moon, made a

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trench across the castle-hill, half way between the gate and the houses, fourteen feet broad and sixteen deep; and from the parapet, made by the earth dug out of the trench on the side next the castle, with the fire of two hundred men of the garrison, cleared the street. Upon the 5th, by the help of the towns-people, they obtained twenty black cattle, a quantity of bread and ale, and water from the reservoir. About five that evening, a considerable detachment of the rebels marched up to the castle-hill, to attack the party of the garrison in the trench, who retreated into the castle, upon their approach, without losing a man. The rebels by creeping up the south side of the hill, had twenty of their men killed by the cannon from the castle. The Pretender's son having, upon the 2d of October, published an order for preventing all communication between the castle and the town, upon pain of death, and great numbers of the rebels having, for that purpose, been placed in the houses near the castle, General Guest was obliged, not only to fire upon them, but to march out and burn them to the ground. Thereupon another order for restoring the communication, was, upon the 6th, pasted up at the several gates of the town, and ever since the garrison have been plentifully supplied with every thing they want."

Besides the foregoing proclamations, there were several others published in the name of Prince Charles during his residence at Edinburgh.



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One dated October 8, says that "being informed, that many of our father's loyal subjects, disabled from joining us, by advanced years, broken constitutions, and otherwise, are heartily disposed to assist us with money, horses, and arms; but have signified that they were at a loss to know to whom they should apply for these purposes; we therefore hereby declare, that the persons in the circumstances aforesaid, sending to our Secretary at the palace of Holyrood-house, or where we shall happen to be for the time, money, arms, and horses, will be considered by us as a very seasonable and acceptable mark of their loyalty."

Another, dated October 9, forbids all Peers and Commoners to pay obedience to the order summoning them to meet in parliament on the 17th, and all people to pay obedience to any order or resolution that might be published in the name of either or both houses, in case they should meet in consequence of said summons.

A second manifesto was issued in the name of Prince Charles:—

"CHARLES, Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging: Unto all his Majesty's subjects, of what degree soever, greeting.

"CHARLES, P. R.

"As soon as we, conducted by the Providence of God, arrived in Scotland, and were joined by a handful of our royal father's faithful subjects, our first care was, to make public his most gracious declaration; and, in consequence of the large

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powers by him vested in us, in quality of Regent, we also emitted our own manifest<sup>o</sup>, explaining and enlarging the promises formerly made, according as we came to be better acquainted with the inclinations of the people of Scotland. Now that it has pleased God, so far to smile on our undertaking, as to make us master of the ancient kingdom of Scotland, we judge it proper, in this public manner, to make manifest what ought to fill the hearts of all his Majesty's subjects, of what nation or province soever, with comfort and satisfaction.

"We therefore hereby, in his Majesty's name, declare, That his sole intention is to reinstate all his subjects in the full enjoyment of their religion, laws, and liberties; and that our present attempt is not undertaken, in order to enslave a free people, but to redress and remove the encroachments made upon them; not to impose upon any a religion which they dislike, but to secure them all the enjoyment of those, which are respectively at present established among them, either in England, Scotland, or Ireland; and if it shall be deemed proper, that any further security be given to the established church or clergy, we hereby promise, in his name, that he shall pass any law that his Parliament shall judge necessary for that purpose.

"In consequence of the rectitude of our royal father's intentions, we must further declare his sentiments with regard to the national debt: That it has been contracted under an unlawful government, nobody can disown, no more than that it is now a most heavy load upon the nation; yet, in regard that it is for the greatest part due to those very subjects whom he promises to protect, cherish, and defend, he is resolved to take the advice of his Parliament concerning it, in which he thinks he acts the part of a just Prince, who makes the good of his people the sole rule of his actions.

"Furthermore, we here, in his name, declare, that the same rule laid down for the funds, shall be followed with respect to every law or act of Parliament since the Revolution; and in so far as, in a free and legal Parliament, they shall be approved, he will confirm them. With respect to the pretended union of the

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two nations, the King cannot possibly ratify it, since he has had repeated remonstrances against it from each kingdom; and, since it is incontestible, that the principal point then in view, was the exclusion of the royal family from their undoubted right to the crown, for which purpose the grossest corruptions were openly used to bring it about: but whatever may be hereafter devised for the joint benefit of both nations, the King will most readily comply with the request of his Parliaments to establish,

“ And now that we have, in his Majesty’s name, given you the most ample security for your religion, properties, and laws, that the power of a British Sovereign can grant; we hereby for ourselves, as heir-apparent to the crown, ratify and confirm the same in our own name, before Almighty God, upon the faith of a Christian, and the honour of a Prince.

“ Let me now expostulate this weighty matter with you, my father’s subjects, and let me not omit this first public opportunity of awakening your understandings, and of dispelling that cloud, which the assiduous pens of ill-designing men have all along, but chiefly now, been endeavouring to cast on the truth. Do not the pulpits and congregations of the clergy, as well as your weekly papers, ring with the dreadful threats of popery, slavery, tyranny, and arbitrary power, which are now ready to be imposed upon you, by the formidable powers of France and Spain? Is not my royal father represented as a blood-thirsty tyrant, breathing out nothing but destruction to all those who will not immediately embrace an odious religion? Or, have I myself been better used? But listen only to the naked truth.

“ I, with my own money, hired a small vessel, ill provided with money, arms, or friends; I arrived in Scotland, attended by seven persons; I publish the King my father’s declarations, and proclaim his title, with pardon on one hand, and in the other liberty of conscience: and the most solemn promises to grant whatever a free Parliament shall propose for the happiness of a people. I have, I confess the greatest reason to adore the goodness of Almighty God, who has, in so remarkable a manner, protected me and my small army through the many dangers

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to which we were first exposed, and who has led me in the way to victory, and to the capital of this ancient kingdom, amidst the acclamations of the King my father's subjects: Why then is so much pains taken to spirit up the minds of the people against this my undertaking?

"The reason is obvious, it is, lest the real sense of the nation's present sufferings should blot out the remembrance of past misfortunes, and of the outcries formerly raised against the royal family. Whatever miscarriages might have given occasion to them, they have been more than atoned for since; and the nation has now an opportunity of being secured against the like for the future.

"That my family has suffered exile during these fifty-seven years, every body knows. Has the nation, during that period of time, been the more happy and flourishing for it? Have you found reason to love and cherish your governors, as the fathers of the people of Great Britain and Ireland? Has a family, upon whom a faction unlawfully bestowed the diadem of a rightful Prince, retained a due sense of so great a trust and favour? Have you found more humanity and condescension in those who were not born to a crown, than in my royal forefathers? Have their ears been open to the cries of the people? Have they, or do they consider only the interest of these nations? Have you reaped any other benefit from them, than an immense load of debts? If I am answered in the affirmative, Why has their government been so often railed at in all your public assemblies? Why has the nation been so long crying out in vain for redress against the abuse of Parliaments, upon account of their long duration, the multitude of place-men, which occasions their venality, the introduction of penal laws, and, in general, against the miserable situation of the kingdom at home and abroad? All these, and many more inconveniencies, must now be removed, unless the people of Great Britain be already so far corrupted, that they will not accept of freedom when offered to them; seeing the King, on his restoration, will refuse

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nothing that a free Parliament can ask, for the security of the religion, laws, and liberty of his people.

"The fears of the nation from the powers of France and Spain, appear still more vain and groundless; my expedition was undertaken unsupported by either. But indeed when I see a foreign force brought by my enemies against me, and when I hear of Dutch, Danes, Hessians, and Swiss, the Elector of Hanover's allies, being called over to protect his government against the King's subjects, is it not high time for the King, my father to accept also of the assistance of those who are able, and who have engaged to support him? But will the world, or any one man of sense in it, infer from thence, that he inclines to be a tributary Prince, rather than an independent Monarch? Who has the better chance to be independent on foreign powers? He who, with the aid of his own subjects, can wrest the government out of the hands of an intruder; or he who cannot, without assistance from abroad, support his government, though established by all the civil power, and secured by a strong military force, against the undisciplined part of those he has ruled over so many years? Let him, if he pleases, try the experiment, let him send off his foreign hirelings, and put the whole upon the issue of a battle; I will trust only to the King, my father's subjects, who were or shall be engaged in mine and their country's cause: But, notwithstanding all the opposition he can make, I still trust in the justice of my cause, the valour of my troops, and the assistance of the Almighty, to bring my enterprise to a glorious issue.

"It is now time to conclude, and I shall do it with this reflection. Civil wars are ever attended with rancour and ill-will, which party rage never fails to produce in the minds of those whom different interests, principles, or views, set in opposition to one another; I therefore earnestly require it of my friends, to give as little loose as possible to such passions; this will prove the most effectual means to prevent the same in the enemies of our royal cause. And this my declaration will vindicate to all

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posterity the nobleness of my undertaking, and the generosity of my intentions.

" Given at our palace of Holyrood-house, the 10th day of October, 1745.

" C. P. R.

" By his Highness's command.

" J. MURRAY."

The following declaration for England was likewise published :—

" JAMES, R.

" JAMES THE THIRD, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. to all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, greeting.

" The love and affection we bear to our native country, are so natural and inherent to us, that they could never be altered or diminished by a long and remote exile, nor the many hardships we have undergone during the whole course of our life; and we almost forget our own misfortunes, when, we consider the oppression and tyranny under which our country has laboured so long. We have seen our people, for many years, groaning under the weight of most heavy taxes, and bearing many of the calamities of war, while the rest of Europe enjoyed all the blessings of peace. We have seen the treasures of the nation applied to satiate private avarice, and lavished for the support of German dominions, or for carrying on of ambitious views, always foreign, and often contrary, to the true interest of the nation. We have since seen the nation involved in wars, which have been, and are carried on, without any advantage to Britain, and even to the manifest detriment and discouragement of its trade, and a great many of Hanoverians taken into the English pay and service, in a most extraordinary manner, and at a most expensive rate; nor could we behold, without indignation, the preference and partiality shewn, on all occasions, to these

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foreigners, and the notorious affronts put on the British troops. We have beheld, with astonishment, an universal corruption and dissolution of manners, encouraged and countenanced by those, whose example and authority should have been employed to repress it, and a more than tacit connivance given to all irreligion and immorality. Bribery and corruption have been openly and universally practised, and no means neglected to seduce the great Council of the nation, that it might be the more effectually enslaved by those who ought to be the guardians of its liberty. The manufactures of England are visibly going to decay ; trade has been neglected, and even discouraged ; and the very honour of the nation made a sacrifice to the passions of those who govern it.

“ The unhappy state to which our subjects have been reduced, by these and many other unjust and violent proceedings, has constantly filled our royal heart with grief and concern, while our whole thoughts and study have been employed towards procuring the most speedy and effectual remedy to them, which we were always sensible could only be compassed by our restoration. This has ever been the principal view of the several attempts we have made for the recovery of our just rights, without being discouraged by the disappointments with which we have hitherto met ; but though Providence has permitted that iniquity and injustice should long prevail, we have all reason to hope, that the time is at last come, in which the Divine Mercy will put a period to these misfortunes. We see, with a sensible satisfaction, the eyes of the greatest part of our people opened to their present deplorable situation, and that they are convinced they can find no relief but by restoring their natural born Prince, whose undoubted title will of course put an end to the many calamities they have suffered during the usurpation ; and our satisfaction would be complete, could we owe our mutual happiness to ourselves and subjects alone, without the assistance of any foreign power ; but should we find it necessary to employ any such, let our good subjects be assured, it is only to protect ourselves and them against those shoals of foreign

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mercenaries, with which the Elector fills the kingdom whenever he thinks himself in danger; and therefore, to disperse all fears and jealousies from the hearts and minds of our subjects, and to convince them, as much as in us lies, of the happiness they may enjoy under our government, we have thought fit to unfold to them, in this solemn and public manner, the sincere sentiments of our royal and truly English heart.

“ We hereby grant a free, full, and general pardon for all offences whatsoever hitherto committed against our royal father, or ourselves; to the benefit of which we shall deem justly entitled, all such of our subjects as shall, after our appearing in arms by ourselves, our dearest son the Prince of Wales, our deputies, or the commanders of our auxiliary forces, testifying their willingness to accept of it, either by joining our troops with all convenient diligence, by setting up our standard in other places, by repairing to any place where it shall be put up, or at least by openly renouncing all pretended allegiance to the usurper, and all obedience to his order, or those of any person or persons commissioned or employed by him.

“ As soon as the public tranquillity shall permit, we solemnly promise to call and assemble a free Parliament, wherein no corruption, nor undue influences of any kind whatsoever, shall be used to bias the votes of the electors or the elected; and, with a sincere and impartial advice and concurrence of the said Parliament, we shall be ready to settle all that may relate to the welfare of the kingdom, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters.

“ We solemnly promise to protect, support, and maintain the church of England, as by law established, in all her rights, privileges, possessions, and immunities whatsoever; and we shall, on all occasions, bestow marks of our royal favour on the whole body of the clergy, but more particularly on those whose principles and practices shall best correspond with the dignity of their profession. We also solemnly promise to grant and allow the benefit of a toleration to all Protestant Dissenters, being



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utterly averse to all persecution and animosity on account of conscience and religion.

“ And as we are desirous to reign chiefly over the affections of our people, we shall be utterly averse to the suspending the *habeas corpus* act, as well as to the loading our subjects with unnecessary taxes, or raising any in a manner burdensome to them, and especially to the introducing of foreign excises, and to all such methods as may have been hitherto devised and pursued to acquire arbitrary power, at the expence of the liberty and property of the subject.

“ It is our fixed resolution and intention, to distinguish, recompense, and employ men of merit and probity, who are true lovers of their country, and of the church of England as by law established: By such a conduct, we hope the native genius and honour of the nation may be soon retrieved; and that those party prejudices, divisions, and distinctions, which have so long prevailed, and have been so pernicious to the nation, may be buried in perpetual oblivion.

“ As for the foreign troops employed in the present expedition, effectual care shall be taken to make them observe the strictest discipline while they stay, without offering the least injury to peaceable people; and we solemnly engage to send them home, as soon as the public tranquillity shall be judged by Parliament to allow of it, and even before a Parliament is assembled, if the posture of affairs shall permit it.

“ In the mean time, we strictly charge and require all persons, who at the first news of our troops entering the kingdom, shall be seised of any sum or sums of money, raised in the name and for the use of the usurper, to keep the same in their hands, to be accounted for to us, or to pay it, when required, into the hands of any person of distinction, publicly appearing and acting for our service, whose receipt shall be a sufficient discharge for the said person or persons, their heirs, &c. But if they shall refuse or neglect to comply with these our orders, we hereby authorise and require all our generals, lieutenant-generals, and other officers, and all our faithful adherents, to seize, for our

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use, such sum or sums of money, as well as all horses, arms, artillery, accoutrements and ammunition, forage and provisions, as shall be found in the hands of those who shall not be willing to employ them in our service.

“ We also command and require all those who bear any military commission of arms, whether in the fleet, army, or militia, to use and employ them for our service; since they cannot but be sensible, that no engagements entered into with a foreign usurper, can dispense with the allegiance they owe to us their natural Sovereign. And, as a farther encouragement to them to comply with their duty and our commands, we promise to every such officer the same, or a higher post, in our service, than that which they at present enjoy, with full payment of whatever arrears may be due to them at the time of their declaring for us; and to every soldier, trooper, and dragoon, who shall join us, as well as to every seaman and mariner of the fleet, who shall declare for and serve us, all their arrears, and a whole year's pay to be given each of them as a gratuity, as soon as ever the kingdom shall be in a state of tranquillity.

“ And, lastly, that this undertaking may be accompanied with as little present inconveniency as possible to our subjects, we hereby authorise and require all civil officers and magistrates, now in place and office, to continue, till farther order, to execute their respective employments in our name, and by our authority, and to give strict obedience to such orders and directions as may be issued out by those who will be vested with our authority and power.

“ It is a subject of unspeakable concern to us, to find ourselves, by a complication of different circumstances, under an absolute impossibility of heading, ourselves, this just and glorious undertaking, for the relief and happiness of our country. But we are in hopes, that the youth and vigour of our dearest son, the Prince of Wales, may abundantly enable him to supply our place. And therefore we have invested him with the title and power of Regent of all our dominions, until such time as we can.

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ourselves arrive in them, which we shall do with all possible speed.

“ Having thus sincerely, and in the presence of Almighty God, declared our true sentiments and intentions in this expedition, we once more charge and require all our loving subjects, to concur with us, to the utmost of their power, towards obtaining such desirable ends: for those who shall wilfully persist in their unnatural attachment to the usurper, and continue to act in consequence of it, they cannot but be sensible, that they are to expect no benefit from a pardon so graciously offered to them. But we heartily wish none such may be found, but that all may be as ready to accept of an act of grace and oblivion as we are to grant it; it being our earnest desire, that the very memory of past misfortunes and errors may be effaced, and that no obstacle may remain to perfect union betwixt King and people; which will be the more easily compassed, when they compare what they have suffered under the dominion of foreigners, with what we here offer to them, and are firmly resolved to perform. Let therefore all true Englishmen join with us on this occasion in their country's cause, and be fully convinced, that we neither do nor shall propose to ourselves any other happiness or glory, but what shall arise from our effectually providing for the honour and welfare of the nation, and maintaining every part of its happy constitution both in church and state.

“ Given under our sign-manual and privy signet, the 23d day of December, 1743.

“ J. R.”

Besides the two declarations in the name of James, and the two manifestoes in that of his son, the following paper was published in the name of the Highland army:—

“ The Declaration and Admonitory Letter of such of the Nobility, Gentry, and free-born Subjects of his Majesty, as under the auspicious conduct of his Royal Highness Charles,

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Prince of Wales, Steward of Scotland, &c. have taken up arms, in support of the cause of their King and Country :

*“ Unto those who have not as yet declared their approbation of this enterprise, and unto such as have or may hereafter appear in arms against it.*

“ COUNTRYMEN AND FELLOW-SUBJECTS,

“ It is with abundance of regret, and not without indignation, that we daily hear and see this our undertaking, which in glory and in disinterestedness may vie with any to be met with, either in ancient or modern history, traduced, misrepresented, and reviled in those fulsome addresses and associations made to and in favours of the Elector of Hanover, by those very bishops of the church of England, who, for so many years, have contributed their utmost endeavours to abett and support every measure the most unpopular, pernicious, and hurtful, that the worst of ministers, be he of what party he would, could ever devise for the undoing of these nations.

“ Is it from such patterns of virtue and piety, that the nation now must take the alarm? Are we by these old bugbears of popery, slavery, and tyranny, for ever to be hindered from pursuing our only true interest? Or, is the groundless fear of an imaginary evil to prevent our shaking off the heavy yoke we daily feel.

“ What further security, in the name of God, can a people desire for the enjoyment of their ecclesiastical rights? Have not both the King and Prince Regent sworn in the most solemn manner to maintain the Protestant religion throughout his Majesty's dominions? Nay more, have they not promised to pass any law which shall be thought necessary for the further security of it? Are we not Protestants who now address you? And is it not by the strength of a Protestant army that he must mount the throne? Can any man, or number of men, persuade you, that we, who are your brethren, born in the same island, and who have the same interest, do not love ourselves, our religion, laws, and liberties as well as you do?

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“ What further security can the nature of the thing admit of? You have your Prince's promises, and here you have laid before you the sentiments of his army; who having thankfully accepted of them, are determined and resolved to set their country at liberty, by establishing that glorious plan which has been freely offered to us by the only rightful Prince of the British nations: and this must be done before we sheath our swords.

“ Our enemies have represented us as men of low birth, and of desperate fortunes.—We who are now in arms, are, for the greatest part, of the most ancient families of this island, whose forefathers asserted the liberties of their country, long, long before the names of many of our declaimers were ever heard of. Our blood is good, and that our actions shall make appear. If our fortunes be not great, our virtue has kept them low; and desperate we may be truly called, for we are determined to conquer or die.

“ The justice therefore of the cause we now appear for, the interest of the nation which we support and pursue, and the glorious character of our royal leader, may each by itself, or all together, abundantly convince the nation, that now at last there appears an happy and unforeseen opportunity of acquiring all those blessings which a distrest nation has been so long wishing for in vain.

“ This golden opportunity we have laid hold of; and in justice to ourselves and fellow-subjects, are obliged thus to apprise them of the uprightness of our intentions, in carrying into execution a scheme calculated and adapted to those principles of liberty, which the true lovers of their country have been polishing and refining for these many years past.

“ Perhaps you may find fault that you were not apprised of this undertaking. No more were we. God has conducted, the Prince of Wales has executed; and we are thereby in possession of Scotland, and victorious over one of the Elector's armies, which nothing could have saved from total destruction, but the authority and mercy of a young conqueror, possess of all the shining virtues which can adorn a throne, and who may

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challenge the keenest enemy of his royal family to impute to him a vice which can blacken the character of a Prince. Compare his clemency towards all the prisoners and wounded at the battle of Gladsmuir, with the executions, imprisonments, and banishments exercised by the German family after their success at Preston in the year 1715, and your affections will tell you, who is the true father of the people.

“ We have hitherto only spoke to your interests ; when his Royal Highness comes himself amongst you, let his appearance, his moderation, his affability, his tenderness, and affections for those he can truly call his countrymen, speak to your passions ; then you, who, at the instigation of your enemies, are now arming for the defence, as you imagine, of your respective communities, will be able to judge, from whom you will have the best reason to expect protection. Thus far we can take upon us to promise in his Highness's name, that such as shall make no resistance to our troops, though before our arrival they may have been levying war against us, may nevertheless depend upon the most ample security for their persons and estates, provided, by a timely surrender of their arms, they put in our power to protect them against the fury of the army : and how foolish will it be, after this assurance, for any city, corporation, or country, to attempt to make head against the combined force of a whole nation, collected in a numerous army, and flushed with success ?—If any misfortune therefore ensue from a disregard of this admonition, we of his Royal Highness's army declare ourselves free of all blame therein.

“ It is time for you now, O countrymen, to lay aside all animosities, all distinctions of families or names, and to confine your thoughts only to the interest of these kingdoms, connecting with them as you go along the sentiments you had a few years ago.

“ What transport of joy would the bulk of the British nation have felt upon a certain remarkable and never to be forgotten period in our political history, (that great change of ministry which happened not long ago, when the cries of a distressed

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people, supported by the interest and influence of powerful, though designing men, accomplished the ruin of a mighty minister;) how great would have been your joy, had you then had from the Elector of Hanover, such a declaration as that emitted the tenth of this month by his Royal Highness, the heir and representative of our natural and only rightful sovereign?

“Is it possible to conceive the universal satisfaction which such a declaration would have occasioned, unless we judge of it by our fatal disappointment? We leave it to yourselves to make the application.—As it is not our intention here to set forth the domestic grievances of the nation, nor the scandalous preference showed upon all occasions to a pitiful foreign concern; for as we address ourselves chiefly to the friends of liberty, and the constitution, we suppose you all abundantly instructed in them: nor would it serve but to lengthen this letter, to enumerate the many promises contained in the King's and Prince's declarations and manifestoes to his subjects upon this occasion: we have abundantly explained our own motives for now appearing in arms, and would willingly use a little serious expostulation with you, gentlemen, who intend to oppose us.

“What then, in the name of God, do you propose to yourselves? Is it also the interest of Great Britain and Ireland? Or, is it the support of the Elector of Hanover's family in the succession to the crown of these realms? If your armaments proceed from the first of these motives, tell us what a Prince can do more to make you a free and a happy people? What security can you have more than his word, and his army's guarantee, until the nation shall have time abundantly to secure themselves by Parliament?

“If you be satisfied with the promises made you and the security of the performance, do you disapprove of this method of bringing about the execution by force of arms? If you do, be so good as suggest another equally efficacious.

“That by Parliament, indeed, would have been universally the most acceptable; but we cannot be so infatuated as to remain in eternal bondage, unless a Parliament, composed of

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hirelings, should set us at liberty ; nor have we any hopes, that the Elector will strip himself of that pecuniary influence, by which alone he has carried, over the bellies of the nation, every destructive measure.

“ On the other hand, if the dispute is to be, whether the Stuart or Hanoverian family shall reign over Great Britain, without reference to the interest of the nation, we need use no other argument than the sword with such as shall oppose us upon those principles.

“ To conclude, we desire to lay this important question before you in a new light. Suppose, for it is only a supposition, that this dreadful and unnatural rebellion, as you are taught to call it, should be extinguished and quashed, and every man concerned in it executed on a scaffold ; your joy, no doubt, would be very great upon so glorious an event ; your addresses would then be turned into thanksgivings ; your Parliament would meet and clothe your beloved Sovereign with new powers ; your standing army, which has hitherto been looked upon as the bane of the constitution, would then be consecrated as your delievrers ; and the reverend bishops of the church of England, would be hailed from the most distant corners of the island, by the glorious appellation of patriots, and protectors of British liberty. O happy, thrice happy nation, who have such an army, and such a bench of bishops, ready upon this occasion, to rescue them from popery, from slavery, tyranny, and arbitrary power !

“ When indeed the first transport of your joy would be over, for you are not to expect that these halcyon days are ever to remain, you might perhaps find, to your fatal experience, that the constitution of your country was not in the least improved ; and upon the return of the unavoidable consequence of those evils all along complained of, and which now you have so fair an opportunity of having redressed, you would at last be sensible, that we were those who, in truth, deserved the appellation of deliverers, patriots, and protectors of the British liberty. But this last part of our letter is addressed only to such as we expect to meet with in a field of battle, and we are hopeful, that those



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will prove but an inconsiderable part of the nations of Great Britain and Ireland; and that you, our countrymen and fellow-subjects, upon being advised and informed, as you now have been, of the whole plan of this glorious expedition, will cheerfully join issue with us, and share in the glory of restoring our King, and in setting our country free, which, by the strength of our arm, the assistance of our allies, and the blessing of Almighty God, we shortly expect to see accomplished.

Some other proclamations were published, for suppressing thefts and robberies, for preserving the regularity of the army, for levying public money, &c. The malt-tax was not uplifted, agreeably to a promise made in the declaration of Scotland.

On the 14th of October, M. du Boyer, Marquis d' Equillez arrived at Holyroodhouse, in the character of ambassador, with dispatches from the French court. Several ships came from the same kingdom with supplies for the Highland army, such as money, artillery, small arms, ammunition, and some officers, engineers, gunners, &c. Two of these ships arrived at Montrose, the first on the 7th, and the other towards the end of October; and two at Stonehaven, about the middle of that month.

A passage over the Forth to Alloa was secured, by raising batteries, and planting cannon on each side of the river, by which the march of the Highlanders from the North was shortened by three or four days. The ladings of the above ships were likewise brought this way. Before the army marched from Edinburgh, the guard posted to

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secure this passage withdrew, and carried off their cannon; after which, a party from Stirling castle destroyed some boats that had been used by the Highlanders.

One Robert Monro, *alias* Macowny, who had put on a white cockade, but did not belong to the army, was shot for robbery, on the 16th, as was Daniel Smith for desertion, on the 17th, both by sentence of a court-martial. They were attended in their last hours by ministers of the established church.

Notice was sent on the 19th to the soldiers who had been wounded at the late battle, and had been taken care of in the royal-infirmiry, charity work-house, and other places, that such of them as would vow not to carry arms against the house of Stuart or their allies before the 1st of January 1747, should get a pass to carry them home to their native countries. Between two and three hundred of them accepted of this offer, others would not accept of it, and a good many had stolen away after they were cured.

On the 23d, the Ludlow Castle man-of-war came into Leith roads. A few cannon were fired by her or the Fox, at some parties of Highlanders posted at Leith and Newhaven, which did little or no damage. Admiral Byng, in the Gloucester, came into the roads on the 26th. After the arrival of these ships, the Highlanders patrolled for some miles along the sea side every night.

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Riot at Perth.

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A coach and six, with four men on horseback, of whom the Earl of Dundonald was one, happening to come to the West-port of Edinburgh between eight and nine at night of the 27th, the gate being shut, a call was given by the coachman to open; and it was said he added, "to the Prince's friends," though no man belonging to the army was in the company. On their approach, the centinels on duty in the castle alarmed the guard, and thereupon three cannon loaded with cartridge shot were fired, by which one Moy, a horse-hirer, was killed, a gentlewoman wounded, the Earl of Dundonald's horse shot under him, and one of the coach-horses wounded. The commanders in the castle were very sorry when they came to be informed of their mistake.

On the 30th of October, the King's birth-day, about one hundred maltmen, and other tradesmen's servants, possessed themselves of the church and steeple of Perth, and rang the bells about mid-day. There were no Highlanders in Perth at the time; only about a dozen of men, mostly workmen in the town, were hired to keep guard. Mr Oliphant of Gask, who was appointed deputy-governor by Prince Charles, sent to desire those who rang the bells, to desist; but they refused to comply, and continued ringing. In the afternoon, Mr Oliphant, with his small guard, and three or four gentlemen posted themselves in the council-house, in order to secure about four hundred small arms, ammunition, &c. belonging to the Highland

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Riot at Perth.

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army, that were lodged there, and in the tolbooth adjoining. At night seven north-country gentlemen in the same interest, with their servants, came to town, and immediately joined their friends in the council-house. Meantime, the mob made a bon-fire or two on the streets; and some loyal people having illuminated their windows, the mob ordered all the inhabitants to follow their example, broke the windows of those who did not illuminate, and proceeded to some other outrages. About nine o'clock at night, a small party from the council-house marched up the street, to disperse the mob, fired upon, and wounded three of them; upon which they rushed in upon the party, and disarmed and wounded most of them. After this the mob placed guards at all the gates of the town, took possession of the main guard, and rang the fire-bell once and again, in order to raise the people, of whom they drew together about two hundred, but none of any note. They ran up and down the streets, and even into houses, and insulted those whom they thought to be Jacobites. Before they rang the fire-bell the second time, they sent a message in writing, signed by initials, to Mr Oliphant, requiring him to withdraw instantly, and yield up the arms, ammunition, &c. to them. This was refused; and thereupon hostilities were begun about two o'clock in the morning, and continued till about five. The mob fired at the council-house from close heads, from behind stairs, and from windows; so that they in the council-house

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Proceedings in Edinburgh.

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could not look out but in the utmost hazard. About five o'clock the mob dispersed. An Irish captain in the French service was killed in the council-house, and three or four wounded. Of the mob four were wounded, of whom George Gorry, weaver, died in two or three days. Next day about sixty of Lord Nairn's men were brought into the town, and soon after about one hundred and thirty Highlanders.

The Highland army, which lay encamped at Duddingston, struck their tents about the middle of October, and were quartered in the neighbourhood of the city. They had been joined by considerable reinforcements from the north, and by the Earl of Kilmarnock, the Lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvie, Pitsligo, and the eldest son of Lord Lovat had begun to assemble his father's clan, in order to join them. Lord Pitsligo was attended by a great many gentlemen from the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, who, with their servants well armed and mounted, formed a body of cavalry that served under his command; he also brought with him a small body of infantry, (consisting of six companies,) which was called Lord Pitsligo's foot. This peer, who drew after him such a number of gentlemen, had only a moderate fortune; but he was much beloved and greatly esteemed by his neighbours, who looked upon him as a man of excellent judgment, and of a wary and cautious temper. Kilmarnock and Balmerino were men of broken and desperate fortune: Elcho and

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The Friends of the Government raise men in the North.

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Ogilvie were sons to the Earls of Wemyss and Airly, so that their influence was far from being extensive. But great dependence was placed on the power and attachment of Lord Lovat, who had entered into private engagements with the Chevalier de St George, though he still wore the mask of loyalty to the government, and disavowed the conduct of his son when he declared for Charles.

The greater and richer part of Scotland was averse to the Stuart family and its pretensions; but the people were unarmed and undisciplined, consequently passive under his dominion. Several powerful chiefs in the Highlands were attached to the government, and exerted themselves in its defence. The Duke of Argyll began to arm his vassals; twelve hundred men were raised by the Earl of Sutherland; Lord Reay brought a considerable number to the field; the Grants and Monroes appeared under their respective leaders for the service of King George; Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod sent two thousand hardy islanders from Skye to strengthen the same interest. These gentlemen were governed and directed by the advice of Duncan Forbes, President of the College of Justice at Edinburgh, a man of extensive knowledge, agreeable manners, and unblemished integrity. He acted with indefatigable zeal for the interest of the reigning family, and even exhausted an opulent fortune in their service. He confirmed several chiefs who began to waver in their principles; some he actu-

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Preparations in England.

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ally converted by the energy of his arguments, and brought over to the assistance of the government, which they had determined to oppose; others he persuaded to remain quiet, without taking any share in the present troubles. The Earl of Loudon repaired to Inverness, where he completed his regiment of Highlanders; directed the conduct of the clans who had taken arms in behalf of the King; and, by his vigilance, overawed the disaffected chieftains of that country who had not yet openly engaged in the rebellion.

While the friends of the government were thus exerting themselves, the ministry took every possible measure to retard the progress of the invader. Immediately after the defeat of Cope, six thousand Dutch troops arrived in England, and three battalions of guards, with seven regiments of infantry, were recalled from Flanders for the defence of the kingdom. They forthwith began their march to the north, under the command of General Wade, who received orders to assemble an army, which proceeded to Newcastle. The Parliament meeting on the 16th of October, his Majesty gave them to understand, that an unnatural rebellion had broke out in Scotland, towards the suppression of which he craved their advice and assistance. He found both Houses cordial in their addresses, and zealous in their attachment to his person and government. The Commons forthwith suspended the *habeas corpus* act, and several persons were apprehended on suspicion of treason.

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Charles resolves to march thither.

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able practices. Immediately after the session was opened, the Duke of Cumberland arrived from the Netherlands, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry. The trained-bands of London were reviewed by his Majesty; the county regiments were completed; the volunteers in different parts of the kingdom employed themselves industriously in the exercise of arms; and the whole English nation seemed to rise up as one man against this formidable invader. The government being apprehensive of a descent from France, appointed Admiral Vernon to command a squadron in the Downs, to observe the motions of the enemy by sea, especially in the harbours of Dunkirk and Boulogne; and his cruisers took several ships loaded with soldiers, officers, and ammunition, destined for the service of Charles in Scotland.

Notwithstanding these formidable obstacles, it was resolved by Charles and his Council, to march into England, and accordingly orders were issued in the end of October for all the out-parties to be called in, and their whole force to be collected. On this occasion it appeared, that the number of the army did not amount to six thousand men, of whom about five hundred were cavalry, and thirteen pieces of artillery of different calibre.

Before the army marched, a proclamation was issued in the name of Prince Charles, dated the 28th October, importing, that whereas he was informed that several thefts and robberies had been



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The Highlanders leave Edinburgh.

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committed in and about Edinburgh, by villains assuming the character of soldiers in his army, as well as by others; and whereas he was heartily disposed to discourage such practices by all means possible, he therefore promised, that if any effects so stolen or robbed should be returned in three days after that date, no questions should be asked; but that all persons in whose custody such effects should be afterwards found, would be punished with the utmost rigour. And for the more effectual detecting of robbers, thieves, or resetts, he promised the discoverers five pounds upon conviction of each offender. .

Horses, corn, hay, &c. were taken from several people for the use of the army. Sometimes the persons that made the demand would shew no order, sometimes they did shew an order, and sometimes they gave receipts. They ordered a considerable number of horses and carts to attend them in their march; but promised to dismiss these so soon as they could be provided with other horses, and to pay the servants that attended them sixpence per day. A small body of light horse, called hussars, was formed before they marched. .

Next day, the last of the Highlanders evacuated the city of Edinburgh. Thereupon the city company took possession of the main guard, armed with cudgels or battons. The rear of the Highland army marched from Dalkeith, southward, on the 3d of November, Prince Charles on foot, with his target over his shoulder,

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Proceedings in Edinburgh.

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When the Highland army marched southward, they left about two dozen of their wounded in the infirmary at Edinburgh; and the promise of one or two gentlemen in town, of known attachment to the government, was taken, that they should use their interest to prevent any harsh things being done to them. Bailie John Wilson, merchant, was taken as a hostage for performance. But, after staying one night with the army at Dalkeith, he was permitted to return next day, November 2, upon some citizens signing a paper to the same purpose with the promise made by the gentlemen above mentioned. On the 4th, some parties came out of the castle, and searched for arms. Among other places they went to the infirmary; where finding a few arms, they were a little rude to some of the Highlanders, and took a few trifles from them. On notice of this, the above gentlemen ordered a note to be made out of the loss sustained by the Highlanders, in order to their being reimbursed, and requested General Guest to give strict orders that no injury should be done them for the future; which his excellency readily complied with.

General Blakeney having got notice, that the rear of the men who conducted the arms, &c. from Montrose, were to pass the Forth at Alloa on the 30th of October, dispatched Captain Abercromby from Stirling, with some soldiers and countrymen, to attack them; which they accordingly did, wounded some, took several prisoners, some cows,

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Proceedings in Edinburgh.

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horses, baggage, arms, money, and letters; all which they carried into Stirling castle that night.

Glengyle,\* of the clan M'Gregor, who was appointed governor of Innersnaid, Down, &c. by Prince Charles, having gone with a party into Argyllshire, in order to raise men, was attacked by three companies of Loudon's regiment from Inverary, under the command of their lieutenant-colonel, John Campbell, Esq. and obliged to retreat, with the loss of two men killed and eighteen taken prisoners. Colonel Campbell had one man killed.

On the 5th of November the following proclamation was posted up in Edinburgh:—

“GEORGE WADE, Esq. Field-Marshal of his Majesty's forces, one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, and Colonel of one of his Majesty's regiments of horse, &c.

“Whereas it has been represented to his Majesty, that several of his subjects inhabiting the Highlands of Scotland, and others,

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\* In the month of February, 1810, when at Brig of Turk, now the residence of Mrs M'Gregor of Glengyle, the Editor was shewn, by that lady, a lieutenant-colonel's commission, written by Prince Charles, dated the 1st of November, 1745,—“To John M'Gregor of Glenairtney.” Being in a very tattered state, with several folds of paper on the back of it, he took them off and pasted it on a sheet of clean paper, which so highly pleased the worthy possessor, that she shewed him a gold ring, presented by Charles to Colonel M'Gregor, in which there was, under a brilliant stone, the crown of Britain, wrought with the Prince's hair, around which were the letters C. P. R.

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Proceedings in Edinburgh.

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have been seduced by menaces and threatenings of their chiefs and superiors, to take arms, and enter into a most unnatural rebellion, his Majesty has authorised me to assure all such, who shall return to their habitations, on or before the 12th day of November next, and become faithful to his Majesty and his government, that they shall be objects of his Majesty's clemency: but if, after this his most gracious intention being signified, they continue in their rebellion, they will be proceeded against with rigour suitable to the nature of their crime. Given at the camp at Newcastle upon Tyne, this 30th day of October, 1745.

“GEORGE WADE.

“By his Excellency's command,

“THOMAS COCKAYNE.”

For some time after the march of the Highland army southwards, the western roads swarmed with deserters from it.

There was public worship in several of the churches of Edinburgh on the 3d of November, in all of them on the 10th, and regularly ever after. The synod of Lothian and Tweeddale, and the presbytery of Edinburgh, complimented the commanders in the castle for their vigilance in the late time of danger. Addresses were sent to the King by several ecclesiastical courts, and a letter was published from the presbytery of Dornoch to the Earl of Sutherland, thanking his Lordship for his early appearance in favour of our happy constitution and government, and for sending a good number of his countrymen to be employed against the Highlanders.

While the Highlanders were in possession of Edinburgh, the Lord Justice-Clerk, Mr Dundas,

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Proceedings in Edinburgh.

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solicitor, and others of his Majesty's servants, had retired to Berwick. After they marched to England, these gentlemen returned to the city, and resumed the functions of their several posts. The Lord Justice-Clerk, and some others of the Lords of Justiciary, entered the city on the 12th of November, attended by the Earl of Home and Lord Belhaven, high sheriffs of the counties of Berwick, and East-Lothian, Mr Alexander Lind, sheriff-depute of Edinburghshire, and a great number of the gentlemen and others in these counties. At the cross they were met by the gentlemen lately in the administration, and other inhabitants of distinction. They alighted in the Parliament Close, and were saluted by a round of the great guns from the castle, the music-bells playing the whole time of their procession, and the people joining their loud huzzas. The whole company immediately assembled in the Parliament-house, and the Lord Justice-Clerk made them the following speech:—

“ My brethren and I thought it our duty to our King and country, to you as well as ourselves, to lay hold of the first opportunity Providence put in our power (by the departure of the rebel army from this part of the country) to return to this capital, and with your help, gentlemen, to endeavour to restore and preserve the peace of this city and adjacent country, and, as far as lies in our power, to revive the civil government; and to show to his Majesty and the world, how little accession the south part of Scotland has had to the

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Proceedings in Edinburgh.

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recent calamities it has felt, which the government still feels in the most sensible manner.

“ But, as military force is necessary for protecting this city and country, so long as the open rebellion subsists, we have the pleasure to acquaint you, that Field-Marshal Wade lost no time in ordering a body of troops to march to this city.

“ As in coming to this place we have been honoured with the company of the high sheriffs, and you, gentlemen, we look upon it as a mark of your zeal for the speedy and effectual re-establishment of his Majesty’s government; in which, if the present troubles do not very soon subside, your help, gentlemen, may be of great service: for indeed, while the rebels keep the field, we must, both in city and country, consider ourselves as in a state of war, notwithstanding the present glimpse we have of some peace and quiet; so that it is still necessary that provision be made for preventing any future disturbances from the rebels or their associates.

“ May we therefore presume to recommend it to the heritors of every parish, to make up lists of all the able-bodied men in their respective bounds, proper to be trusted with arms? in which great assistance may be got from the reverend ministers of the established church; who (as they always do) have on this occasion given testimony of their great zeal for his Majesty’s government. And we recommend it to the sheriffs now present, to give notice to the heritors that were absent; and we recom-

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Proceedings in Edinburgh.

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mend to them, to deliver these lists to their respective sheriffs, to be by them transmitted to such person or persons as his Majesty shall appoint for that purpose. The sooner that these lists be made up and transmitted, so much securer the present tranquillity will be.

“As I have in my eye a great many of the inhabitants of this ancient city, I cannot omit condoling with them on their late dismal situation, and their present want of a regular government. I hope his Majesty, in his great goodness, will in due time take their case under his royal consideration; and that he will soon be convinced of the loyalty and zeal of by far the greatest number of the inhabitants of this city. For arming such, if found necessary and expedient, proper orders are given by Field-Marshal Wade. Mean time, what assistance my brethren or I can give for preserving the peace of this place, shall not be wanting.

“Thus I have endeavoured, so far as I have been able to recollect, to deliver to you, gentlemen, the united sentiments of my brethren and me on this occasion.”

Next day Lieutenant-General Handasyd arrived in town from Berwick, with Price's and Ligonier's regiments of foot, and Hamilton's and Ligonier's (late Gardiner's) regiments of dragoons. All the foot and Ligonier's dragoons were quartered within the city, and Hamilton's dragoons in the Canongate, &c. An invitation was sent them, as was said, by some of the eminent citizens. As there

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Proceedings in Edinburgh.

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were at that time no magistrates, the constables were in a doubt how they could lawfully billet the troops upon the inhabitants, and therefore obtained a warrant for that purpose from the Lord Justice-Clerk, the Lords Minto, Elchies, and Drummore, as justices of the peace.

A meeting of the subscribers to the fund for raising the Edinburgh regiment was called on the 20th. A considerable number of men had been raised, but dispersed when the Highlanders took possession of the city. By order of this meeting, a new subscription was opened, for completing the full one thousand men, to be under the direction of the commander in chief of the forces in Scotland; and an advertisement was published, inviting the men formerly inlisted to re-enter, and promising a reasonable gratuity to such of them as had shewed an alacrity to march out and fight the Highlanders. All able-bodied men, whose loyalty could be attested, were likewise received, and were bound to serve only three months. Letters were sent to ministers and well-affected gentlemen to assist in prevailing with proper persons to inlist, and they had good success.

On the 27th the freeholders of the county met at Edinburgh. They were of opinion, that the capital was of such importance, that no means ought to be left untried to preserve it from falling again into the enemy's hands, and therefore ordered letters to be sent to the several ministers, requesting them to assist the heritors in preparing



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Proceedings in Edinburgh.

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lists of able-bodied men within their parishes, to be forthwith levied, armed, and to march to the defence of the city if occasion required. The men were to be maintained at the expence of the shire.

The same spirit reigned in other places of the kingdom, especially in the west. The town of Stirling raised four hundred men, and put them under the command of General Blakeney. The militia of Glasgow and neighbourhood, amounting to three thousand men, were reviewed by the Earl of Home, having got arms from Edinburgh. About three hundred Seceders appeared likewise in arms. Major-General Campbell came to Inverary, with money, arms, ammunition, &c. from England, in order to raise the people of Argyllshire.

After the return of the officers of state, &c. to Edinburgh, the banks resumed their business, and the castle-flag was no longer displayed.

Several persons were committed on suspicion of treason. A gentleman or two belonging to the Highland army were seized by the country people in the west, and sent in prisoners to Edinburgh; particularly Mr Spalding of Whitefield going north, and Donald Macdonald of Kinlochmoidart going south. The latter was the gentleman at whose house Prince Charles lodged on his landing, and who was with him for some time before any other joined him. He had been sent to Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod, to prevail on them to join; but they utterly refused.

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State of the North.

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There was a letter found in his pocket from Mr Murray, the Prince's secretary, telling him, that in case he did not succeed with Sir Alexander and Macleod, he must be sure to give it out in the country, as he passed along, that they were upon their march to join the Prince with two thousand men well armed; that otherwise they could not keep the army they had together, several of the chiefs having declared, that if those two clans did not join they would march back again. This letter was dated at Holyrood-house the 27th of October; the original was lodged with General Guest, and was as follows:—"His Royal Highness has judged it necessary to send your brother Allan to meet you with this letter, to desire you to give it out, wherever you come, that Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Macleods were actually on their march, notwithstanding you may have received contrary information. He likewise desires you may make all haste to come up, when I shall satisfy you how necessary it is to keep these gentlemen's delay a secret. I am, sincerely," &c.

About the middle of November, the Earl of Loudon had a considerable force at Inverness, consisting of part of his own regiment, the Earl of Sutherland's and Lord Reay's people, Monroes, Grants, and four hundred Macleods; and having received arms and money by the Saltash sloop of war, his Lordship was preparing to set out to quell the commotions in that neighbourhood, to supply the garrisons with necessaries, and to prevent Lord

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State of the North.

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Lewis Gordon from giving any further disturbance. The greatest zeal had been shewn for the support of the existing government by the Lord Fortrose and Sir Alexander Macdonald.

Towards the end of November, Lord John Drummond, with eight hundred Scots and Irish, in six transports from Dunkirk, landed at Montrose, Stonehaven and Peterhead. By this reinforcement, the Highlanders about Perth, &c. were three thousand strong. The Hazard sloop of war fell into their hands at Montrose, and Captain Hill and the crew were made prisoners. They erected batteries at the mouth of the harbour.—A short while before, Captain Hill had caused two Montrose ships to be burnt in the harbour, for refusing to unrig, or on suspicion of their having piloted in some French ships.

Upon advice that the Highlanders intended to force a passage near Stirling, Lieutenant-General Handasyd ordered a considerable force to march thither to oppose them. The commanders of the castle of Edinburgh were in the mean time laying up quantities of provisions.

There were great complaints of the Highlanders from the north.—A letter from Angus said, that Perth, Dundee, and the country round, were one scene of horror and oppression; that robberies were perpetual, many of them in open day, in the public streets; that in Strathmore they robbed many of the clergy of considerable sums; that the whole parishes in Angus, were distressed by pressing men,

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The Highland Army crosses the Tweed.

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or a composition of money; that some gentlemen were assessed in £ 50, some in £ 100, and some in £ 200; that illuminations were ordered at Dundee on account of the arrival of the French; that the Presbyterian ministers windows were broke because they were not illuminated; that they threw stones, and even fired into one of them; that when violent attempts were made to break in, the family escaped by a back door; but that the aged minister, unwilling to quit his house, wrote to one of their commanding officers, of his acquaintance, and got them called off.—This shews, that the loyalty of the people of Perth was ill-timed, as it occasioned inconveniences to some of his Majesty's best friends, by setting an example that gave the Highlanders a pretext to make reprisals.

The Highland army, whose rear left Dalkeith on the 3d of November, marched southward in three columns; one body of between one and two thousand, by way of Peebles, Moffat, &c.; the middle column by Lauder, Selkirk, and Hawick; and the easternmost column, of between three and four thousand, by Kelso. Prince Charles arrived at Kelso on the 4th, at night. From this place, a message was sent to Wooler, ordering quarters to be provided for four thousand foot, and one thousand horse; but notwithstanding, this division crossed the Tweed on the 6th, and took the road to Hawick; from thence to Halyhaugh on the 7th, and to Langholm, Cannoby on the Scotch side, and Longton on the 8th. On the 9th they marched

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Invests Carlisle.

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towards Rowcliff, where they crossed the river within four miles of Carlisle, and thence pursued their march to Murray's, on Brough side, where they lay that night, about four miles southward of Carlisle. That afternoon, part of the corps which took route by Moffat, with the artillery, joined them, and all the rest next day, except about two hundred, which could not join before the 11th. The whole militia of the counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland were in the garrison of Carlisle. Many of the Highlanders deserted on their march from Edinburgh, particularly at Kelso; and many stragglers, with their arms, were seized, and delivered by the country people into the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, or to the commanders of his Majesty's ships.

Marshal Wade, on notice of the Highland army having moved southwards, countermanded the orders he had given for the march of his army to Berwick about the 4th, resolving to continue at Newcastle till their designs should be more certainly known.

On the 9th, about fifty or sixty Highlanders, well mounted, and thought to be officers, appeared on Stanwix bank, a hill close to Carlisle. The castle fired upon them; and after some time, they retreated. At three o'clock afternoon, the mayor received a message from them, to provide billets for thirteen thousand men that night, which he refused; and at night the city was surrounded by about nine thousand of them. Next day, a body

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Siege of Carlisle.

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of them approached the walls, first bending towards the Irish gate, but afterwards marched round to the English gate, in order to reconnoitre the place, as was judged; during which motions they were fired at both from town and castle. At three afternoon, the mayor received a message in writing, addressed, "For the Mayor of Carlisle," dated November 10, two in the afternoon, in the following words:—

"CHARLES, Prince of Wales, Regent of the Kingdoms of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging.

"Being come to recover the King our father's just rights, for which we are arrived with all his authority, we are sorry to find that you should prepare to obstruct our passage. We, therefore, to avoid the effusion of English blood, hereby require you to open your gates, and let us enter, as we desire, in a peaceable manner; in which if you do, we shall take care to preserve you from any insult, and set an example to all England of the exactness with which we intend to fulfil the King our father's declarations and our own. But if you shall refuse us entrance, we are fully resolved to force it by such means as Providence has put into our hands; and then it will not perhaps be in our power to prevent the dreadful consequences which usually attend a town's being taken by assault. Consider seriously of this, and let me have your answer within the space of two hours; for we shall take any farther delay as a peremptory refusal, and take our measures accordingly.

"By his Highness's command,

"JO. MURRAY."

To this the mayor returned no answer, but by firing the cannon upon them. It was supposed

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Siege of Carlisle.

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they were to make a vigorous attack in the night, the firing continuing till midnight.

On the 11th, the main body of the Highlanders marched to Brampton, about seven miles east on the road to Newcastle. By ten o'clock that day, Prince Charles was at Warwick castle. A body of the Highlanders, which the garrison took for the rear-guard, appeared the same day upon Stanwix bank, but the guns firing upon them, they fled in great haste. At night this body took up their quarters at Rickarby, and the villages near it, on the north of the Eden; but, receiving an order to march for Brampton without loss of time, they set out immediately, but were unable to march a mile and a half that night, their carriage horses having failed them. Some stragglers were brought into Carlisle, and two carriages laden with biscuit. Upon 12th, the Highlanders remained at Brampton, Warwick bridge, and the villages between those two places. They had sixteen field-pieces. On the 13th, a great body of them marched back to Carlisle. They forced four carpenters along with them, to assist in erecting batteries. A Highland quarter-master (Stuart) taken near Carlisle, was sent to Newcastle to Marshal Wade; but four light horsemen that conducted him, fell into the hands of the enemy in their return. It was said, that at this time they shot at every body that fled from them; that one person was killed by them; that they were putting the country under military execution; that they seized all able-

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Siege of Carlisle.

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bodied men, horses, and carriages, and declared they would force them to carry their ladders to the walls of Carlisle. The cannon of the town fired upon them very briskly; and on the 14th they approached so near the walls, that the garrison threw grenadoes at them. They broke ground about three hundred yards from the citadel, and at Spring Garden, near the horse-race ground. On the 15th the town surrendered; which is thus accounted for:—For seven days before, neither officers nor common men of the garrison got scarce an hour's rest, being perpetually alarmed by the Highlanders; and many of them were so sick through the great fatigue, that being out of all hopes of a speedy relief, they absolutely refused to hold out any longer, and multitudes went off every hour over the walls, some of which fell into the hands of the enemy, till the officers of many companies were at last left with not above three or four men; so that the mayor and corporation determined to hang out the white flag, (though contrary to the opinion and protestation of Colonel Durand, the commandant,) and made the best terms they could get for themselves; the garrison being permitted to go to their respective homes. Thereupon the Colonel was obliged to abandon the castle; the Highlanders threatening, in case of refusal, to destroy the whole town by fire and sword. By the first accounts of the surrender of the town, it was said that Colonel Durand was determined to defend the castle to the last extre-



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Siege of Carlisle.

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mity; that he had prepared every thing for that purpose, and it was supposed he would be able to hold out eight days; and the letters from the colonel himself, in a day or two after, bore, that before the surrender of the place, he had time to nail up ten pieces of the cannon on the ramparts, from four to two pounders; that he had prevailed upon four hundred men (besides the two companies of invalids) to join with him in defending the castle; but that before eight the next morning they had changed their resolution, and had all left him to a man; so that, upon calling a council of war, consisting of the officers of the invalids, it was unanimously agreed, that, with the small force remaining under his orders, which did not exceed eighty men, many of them extremely infirm, it was not possible to defend the castle.

An eye-witness gave the following account:—  
“ On Saturday the 9th, about three o'clock afternoon, a body of the Highland army appeared at Stanwix bank, within a quarter of a mile of Carlisle; and it being the market-day there, they mixed with the country people returning home, so that it was not possible for the garrison to fire upon them for some time, without risk of injuring their neighbours along with their enemies. But in less than half an hour, the country people dispersed themselves, when the garrison of the castle fired a ten-gun battery upon them; which it is believed killed several. At night they retreated to a greater distance from the city, and the garri-

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Siege of Carlisle.

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son remained all night under arms. At two in the morning a thick fog came on, which continued till twelve that day, when it cleared up about an hour, and then the garrison perceived the Highlanders approaching to attack the city in three columns, viz. one at Stanwix bank, commanded by the Duke of Perth; a second at Shading-gate lane, commanded by the Marquis of Tullibardine, who also had the artillery; and the third in Blackwell-fields, under Prince Charles, facing the English gate. Upon observing these columns approaching so near the city, the garrison fired upon them, viz. the four-gun battery upon the Marquis of Tullibardine's division, who was heard to say, 'Gentlemen, we have not metal for them, retreat;' which they immediately did. The turret guns and the citadel guns were fired upon the Prince's division, where the white flag was displayed, which was seen to all. About the same time the ten-gun battery was fired upon the Duke of Perth's division, who also retired. A thick fog came on again, and the inhabitants expected nothing but a general assault would be made by the enemy: against which the walls were well lined with men; and Sir John Pennington, Dr Waugh, chancellor, Humphrey Senhouse, Joseph Daire Ealstan of Acran-bank, Esqrs. with several other gentlemen of note, stood all night under arms to encourage and assist them. The militia was also drawn up at the foot of Castle street, to be ready, in case of a forcible attack, to relieve and reinforce the men

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Siege of Carlisle.

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upon the walls. On Monday morning, the fog still continuing thick, the garrison could not observe the situation of the enemy, but heard their pipers playing not far from the English gate. About ten o'clock a man was let down from the city walls to reconnoitre the enemy, and he found they had retired to Warwick bridge. In the afternoon, other spies were likewise dispatched to observe their motions, who discovered a great number about Warwick bridge; Charles, with his guard and attendants, were advanced to Brampton, where they lodged that night. On Tuesday they lay idle from all action. On Wednesday morning, about ten o'clock, they displayed the white flag at Warwick bridge-end, to which they were about three hours in repairing. About one o'clock the Prince, attended by Lord George Murray, the Duke of Perth, and several others, besides those called his guards, came to them; on which they formed, and began to march again to Carlisle, in the following order:—First, two (named husars) in Highland dress, and high rough red caps, like pioneers; next, about half a dozen of the chief leaders, followed by a kettle-drum; then the Prince, at the head of about one hundred and ten horse, called his guards, two and two abreast; after these, a confused multitude of all sorts of mean people, to the number of about six thousand. In this order they advanced to the height of Warwick-muir, where they halted about half an hour, and took an attentive view of the city. From thence the

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Siege and Surrender of Carlisle.

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foot took the lead, and so they marched to Carlisle about three in the afternoon, when they began a fresh assault, and the city renewed its fire. On Thursday it was discovered that the Highlanders had thrown up a trench, which intimidated the town; and in a consultation, it was resolved to capitulate: a deputation was sent to Prince Charles, at Brampton, and the town and castle were delivered up on Friday morning."

A letter dated at Kendal, November 18, says, "An officer in our militia, who is a man of fortune and good credit, declares, that Carlisle merits no greater honour by its surrender to the Highland army than Edinburgh did. The garrison wholly consisted of the Cumberland and Westmoreland militia, together with a few volunteers, and two imperfect companies of invalids. There were besides some independent companies of the town, who would not assist the garrison with more than two or three men out of a company; so that they were obliged to be upon duty, and the week before, one half relieved the other alternately. The militia were also put to several other great hardships; many of the inhabitants making them pay an exorbitant price for provisions, and they could not, for any money, procure a sufficient quantity of straw to lie upon on the walls. Captain Wilson (son of Daniel Wilson, Esq. member for Westmoreland) paid thirty shillings for the use of a cobbler's stall under the walls. On the first approach of the Highland army, the garrison gave

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Siege and Surrender of Carlisle.

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out that they were three thousand strong, upon which the Highlanders durst not attempt the city immediately, but went forward towards Brampton, from whence they returned on the 13th. The garrison kept continually firing upon them, till they were obliged, on the 14th, by the manager in the town, to desist, and come off from the walls, and continued so all that night; during which time, it was supposed the terms of capitulation were settled. Next morning they observed that the enemy had entrenched themselves before the town, upon which the garrison renewed their fire with great spirit and bravery, but soon received orders again to desist, for the capitulation was agreed upon. The Duke of Perth, with his division, were the first of the Highland army that entered Carlisle, Prince Charles being then six miles from the city. He made the garrison swear never to appear in arms any more against them; and, shaking the men by the hands, told them they were brave fellows, and offered them great sums to enlist with him. He took above two hundred good horses, and all the arms from the militia, besides a thousand stand lodged in the castle. He also found a rich booty in the castle, the people of the country round about having brought thither, for safety, the most valuable of their effects. The town capitulated on the 14th, in the evening; and on the 15th, at ten o'clock in the morning, it was given up. About one in the afternoon the Highlanders entered the city, and the next morning the

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Siege and Surrender of Carlisle.

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castle was surrendered to them. Several of the militia endeavoured to escape, without being obliged to take the oath, as did also some of Cope's men, who had deserted from the enemy; one of which they threatened should be shot, as an example to deter others."

The following is the account given by the Highland army of its operations:—"The trenches were opened before Carlisle on Wednesday the 13th in the evening, and were conducted under the direction of Mr Grant, chief engineer, (whose skill is very much extolled) with such success, that on Friday morning the batteries were erected within forty fathoms of the walls. All that time the cannon and small arms from both city and castle played most furiously; but with no loss to the besiegers, other than of a French gunner and a private man killed. The Duke of Perth and the Marquis of Tullibardine wrought at the trenches in their shirts, though the weather was so excessively cold, that none of the army but the Highlanders, who were accustomed by their climate, could easily endure it. On Friday, when the cannon began to play, and the scaling-ladders were brought forward in order to an assault, a white flag was hung out, and the city offered to surrender upon terms for themselves. On this an express was sent to the Prince, who was at Bampton with a great part of the army, in order to oppose Marshal Wade, in case he should advance with design to raise the siege. He answered, that he

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Siege and Surrender of Carlisle.

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would not do things by halves, and that the city had no terms to expect unless the castle surrendered at the same time. When this answer was reported, Colonel Durand consented to surrender the castle also. The terms were, that the town and castle, with the artillery and magazines, should be delivered up; that the men should lay down their arms in the market-place, after which they should have passes to go where they pleased, upon taking an oath, not to carry arms against the house of Stuart for a twelvemonth; that the city of Carlisle should retain its privileges; that they should deliver up all arms, &c. and also the horses of such as had appeared in arms against the Prince; and that all the deserters, particularly the soldiers enlisted with the Highlanders after the late battle, who had fled to Carlisle, should be delivered up. On Friday afternoon the Duke of Perth took possession of the place in the Chevalier's name, and next day they proclaimed his and his son's manifestoes, &c. attended by the mayor and other magistrates, with the sword and mace carried before them. They found in the castle and city a great number of cannon, about fifteen cohorn mortars, a great quantity of cannon balls, grenadoes, small bombs, pick-axes, and other military stores; likewise many of the broad swords that were taken at Preston in 1715, and about one hundred barrels of gunpowder. It was said, that all the plate and valuable effects lodged in the castle for security, were ordered to be delivered to the owners."

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Siege and Surrender of Carlisle.

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According to another account, the mayor and aldermen were, by the capitulation, obliged to assist at the ceremony of reading the declarations, &c. It was observed, that the day before the Highland army returned from Brampton, the mayor wrote to Lord Lonsdale, lord lieutenant of the county, that he had done more than Edinburgh, and even all Scotland. This indeed, it was remarked at the time, proved true, by his surrender of a strong and important fortress, which was what the Highlanders never got possession of in Edinburgh, nor in all Scotland.

About thirty cart-load of baggage, belonging to the Highland army, was left at Lockerby, for want of horses. The party that guarded it, either from an eagerness to assist at the siege of Carlisle, or for fear of being overpowered by about one thousand country people, from about Dumfries, headed by four gentlemen of distinction, who were advancing to attack them, marched off for Carlisle, leaving the baggage, which was thereupon seized upon the 14th. After the surrender of Carlisle, a party, under the command of Lochiel, were ordered back to Dumfries, to reclaim the baggage, or £2000 in its stead, from that town; but, before they reached the place, they were-recalled to join the army.

When the news of the Highland army's having returned to Brampton, in order to make an attempt upon Carlisle, reached Marshal Wade at Newcastle, where his army was encamped, his ex-



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Precautions taken in England.

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cellency called a council of war, in which it was determined to march to the relief of that place, and to give battle to the Highlanders. His army accordingly moved on the 16th, by Ovingham, and arrived at Hexham on the 17th at midnight, where receiving advice, as well of the surrender of Carlisle, as of the advance of Prince Charles to Penrith, and finding the roads, from the great quantity of snow that had fallen, in a great measure impassable; it was resolved, in a council of war, to march back immediately to Newcastle, where they accordingly arrived on the 22d, and were lodged in the public halls, glass-houses, malt-houses, and other empty buildings.

On the 4th of November the regiments of foot commanded by Lieutenant-General Handasyd, Major-Generals Campbell and Skelton, Brigadiers Bligh, Mordaunt, and Lord John Murray, arrived in the Thames from Flanders.

Royal proclamations were issued, dated November 7, commanding the 18th of December to be observed as a fast both in England and Scotland, in order to deprecate deserved judgments, and to implore a blessing on his Majesty's arms, for restoring and perpetuating peace, safety, and prosperity to these kingdoms.

One Gordon, a Romish priest, was taken into custody on the 9th, and his papers seized; by which it appeared, that many thousand pounds had been transmitted through his hands to Prince Charles's army. George Lockhart of Carnwath, Esq. who

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Precautions taken in England.

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was taken up at Berwick, was brought to London on the 1st. Sir John Cope and Brigadier Fowke arrived the same day.

A message was sent by the Lords to the Commons on the 6th, desiring a conference with them next day, at three o'clock, in the Painted Chamber, touching certain treasonable declarations and printed papers published and dispersed about the kingdom, by the Chevalier, and his eldest son; and accordingly, next day, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, came to the following resolutions, viz.

“ 1. That the two printed papers respectively signed ‘ James R.’ and dated at Rome December 23, 1743, and the four printed papers signed ‘ Charles; P. R.’ dated respectively May 16, August 22, and October 9 and 10, 1745, are false, scandalous, and treasonable libels; intended to poison the minds of his Majesty’s subjects; contain the most malicious, audacious, and wicked incitements to them to commit the most abominable treasons; groundless and infamous calumnies and indignities against the government, crown, and sacred person of his most excellent Majesty King George II., our only rightful and undoubted sovereign; and seditious and presumptuous declarations against the constitution of this united kingdom; representing the high court of Parliament, now legally assembled by his Majesty’s authority, as an unlawful assembly, and all the acts of Parliament passed

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Precautions taken in England.

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since the late happy Revolution, as null and void : and that the said printed papers are full of the utmost arrogance and insolent affronts to the honour of the British nation, in supposing, that his Majesty's subjects are capable of being imposed upon, seduced, or terrified, by false and opprobrious invectives, insidious promises, or vain and impotent menaces, or of being deluded to exchange the free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, as well civil as religious, under the well-established government of a Protestant Prince, for Popery and slavery, under a Popish bigoted Pretender, long since excluded by the wisest laws made to secure our excellent constitution, and abjured by the most solemn oaths.

“ 2. That, in abhorrence and detestation of such vile and treasonable practices, the said several printed papers be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, at the Royal Exchange in London, on Tuesday the 12th day of this instant November, at one of the clock in the afternoon ; and that the sheriffs of London do then attend, and cause the same to be burnt there accordingly.”—The papers were burnt agreeably to this resolution, amidst the acclamations of a prodigious number of people.

The noblemen who commanded the new regiments were,—horse, the Dukes of Montagu and Kingston ;—foot, the Dukes of Bolton, Bedford, Montagu, and Ancaster, the Marquis of Granby,

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Precautions taken in England.

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the Earls of Berkeley, Cholmondeley, and Halifax, the Viscounts Falmouth and Harcourt, and the Lords Gower, Edgcumbe, and Herbert of Chisbury.

Sir William Yonge, by the King's command, thanked the Lord Mayor and several citizens for their contribution of blankets, watch-coats, and other necessaries for the soldiers. The Quakers, in particular, gave them ten thousand woollen waist-coats; and his Majesty, out of his privy purse, gave them shoes.

About the 16th, the King ordered a body of troops, consisting of three regiments of horse, two of dragoons, and fifteen of foot, to march forthwith towards Lancashire, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir John Ligonier; and his excellency set out from London on the 21st. Two battalions of foot guards set forward to join them on the 23d, and the Duke of Cumberland was appointed to take the command. A third battalion of the foot guards and Cobham's dragoons received orders to march on the 26th, in order likewise to join them; and his Royal Highness set out from St James's that day, to put himself at their head. He arrived at Litchfield on the 27th, and on the 28th, the troops under his Royal Highness's command, then arrived, were cantoned from Tamworth to Stafford, with the cavalry in front, at Newcastle-under-Line,

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List of the Highland and Royal Forces.

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About the middle of November, the following lists were published:—

## LIST OF PRINCE CHARLES'S OFFICERS AND TROOPS.

<i>Regiments.</i>	<i>Colonels.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
Lochiel, .. ...	Cameron of Lochiel, ... ..	740
Appin, ....	Stuart of Ardschiel, ....	360
Athol, ... ..	Lord George Murray, ... ..	1000
•Clanronald, ... ..	Clanronald of Clanronald, junior, ..	200
Keppoch, ....	Macdonald of Keppoch, ... ..	400
Glenco, ... ..	Macdonald of Glenco, ... ..	200
Ogilvie, ... ..	Lord Ogilvie, ... ..	500
Glenbucket, .....	Gordon of Glenbucket, ... ..	427
Perth, ... ..	Duke of Perth (and Pitsligo's foot), ...	750
Robertson, ... ..	Robertson of Strowan, ... ..	200
Maclachlan, .....	Maclachlan of Maclachlan, ... ..	260
Glencarnick, ....	Macgregor, ... ..	300
Glengary, ... ..	Macdonald of Glengary, junior, ... ..	300
Nairn, .. ...	Lord Nairn, ... ..	200
Edinburgh, ... ..	John Roy Stuart (and Lord Kelly's), ..	450
	In several small corps; ... ..	1000
	Horse, { Lord Elcho, ... .. } { Lord Kilmarnock, ... }	160
	Lord Pitsligo's horse, ... ..	140
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LIST OF THE FORCES AND COMMANDERS WHO MARCHED DOWN  
TOWARDS LANCASHIRE.

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Sir John Ligonier, commander-in-chief under the Duke of Cumberland.

Lieutenant-Generals Richmond and St Clair.

Major-Generals Skelton and Bland.

Brigadiers Sempill, Bligh, and Douglas.

Artillery—Leslie, Barnard, and Roper, brigade-majors, 30 pieces of cannon, 6 and 3-pounders.

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March of the Highland Army into England.

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Old Foot—Howard, major-general of the foot, Sowle, Johnson, Douglas, Sempill, Bligh, and Skelton.

Bland's dragoons; and, it is supposed, four troops of Ligonier's horse.

New Foot—Gower, Montagu, Halifax, Granby, and Cholmondeley.

New Horse—Montagu and Kingston.

Amounting to 8250 foot and 2200 horse, besides Cobham's dragoons and three battalions of foot guards ordered afterwards.

The Highland army left a garrison in the castle of Carlisle, of about one hundred men. A small body of their horse entered Penrith on the 18th, and the rest of the army on the three days following. Before the arrival of the rear, the van had marched by the Lancashire road. About one hundred and twenty of their horse came to Kendal on the 21st, and next day Prince Charles arrived with his household, and a regiment of foot. By the best reckoning that could be made at Emont and Fallowfield bridge, the whole of their army did not exceed seven thousand men; the body of regular horse was very inconsiderable; and there were not above thirty hussars, besides those that marched with the van-guard the day before to Kendal; their baggage-waggons, which were about twenty in number, were very slenderly guarded, some of which were drawn by three, and others by two horses; and they talked of great numbers to join them from Scotland. The van of their army arrived at Lancaster on the 24th. Six Highland quarter-masters came into Preston on the 26th, to provide quarters for their army, which was to

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March of the Highland Army into England.

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rendezvous on Preston-muir next day. Some of them were at Warrington, and the main body at Wigan and Leigh on the 28th. That afternoon, a party came into Manchester, beat up for volunteers for the Chevalier, enlisted several Papists and non-jurors, offering five guineas a man to any that would enter. Those who took the money had white cockades given them, and marched about the town with the drum and the sergent. This party ordered quarters to be prepared for ten thousand men, who were to come thither the next day. On the 29th the main body arrived at Manchester. A party of them reached it at ten in the morning, by whose order the bellman went round the town, to give notice to all persons belonging to the excise, innkeepers, &c. forthwith to bring their last acquittances and rolls, and all the ready cash they had in their hands belonging to the government, on pain of military execution. About two in the afternoon, Prince Charles and another party arrived there; he marched on foot, in the Highland dress, surrounded by a body of Highlanders. The bellman went round the town again, to order the houses to be illuminated. They had sixteen pieces of cannon, great numbers of covered waggon and near one hundred horses laden. They proclaimed the Chevalier in all the market towns they passed.

Next day, about two hundred of them came to a pass three miles from that town, leading to Knotsford; and having made a sort of bridge over

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March of the Highland Army into England.

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the river, by filling it with trees, advanced to Altringham. The same day fifty-five crossed the river at Glate-ford to Cheadle, two miles from Stockport, and returned directly to Manchester by Cheadle-ford. In the afternoon, ten of them crossed the ford at Stockport, staid there half an hour, gave out that they would bring a large body of forces to Stockport that night, and that they had enlisted great numbers of men at Manchester, to which place they returned. The same day, two hundred of them were at Warrington; two of whom, who had crossed the river, were seized by the Liverpool soldiers, hand-cuffed, and sent to Chester.

Several parties of the Highlanders crossed the Mersey at different places upon the 30th at night, and early in the morning of the 1st December, and marched by different routes towards Macclesfield. The horse and artillery passed at Cheadle-ford. The bridges were made of trees (chiefly poplars) felled for that purpose, and planks laid across; and all the country-people that could be found, were compelled to assist in it. They pressed all the horses they could meet with about Manchester, before they crossed the Mersey, and obliged several gentlemen who had sent their horses out of the way, to send for them back. By break of day, on the 1st, a party of horse came to Altringham, bespoke quarters for a body of foot, (which arrived there about ten), and then set out for Macclesfield with a guide. The party which lay at Altringham were very



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March of the Highland Army into England.

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solicitous to know what number of the King's forces there was at Knotsford. At eleven o'clock about one hundred horse came into Macclesfield, and ordered the bellman to prepare quarters for five thousand men; they arrived there about two o'clock, with the artillery and Prince Charles, who lay there that night. The van-guard, which consisted of about two hundred men, and which had orders to be in readiness to march at eleven at night, was quartered at Broken Cross, on the Congleton side of Macclesfield. All that evening they were busy scaling their pieces, firing them, and putting them into order. In the middle of the night, forty of them were at Backley-hill in pursuit of deserters.

The party which lay at Altringham, marched early on the 2d towards Macclesfield, from which place about two thousand foot passed by Gaws-wort at ten. Two thousand horse and foot came into Congleton between three and four in the afternoon: about thirty were detached to Ashburn, two or three miles on the Newcastle side of Congleton. Their horses were very small, lean, and of different colours.

On the 3d, a party of them were at Ashburn, fifteen miles from Derby, and the remainder at Leek. The former demanded billets for three thousand men.

On the 2d of December, the Duke of Cumberland, then at Stafford, received advice from Newcastle-under-Line, that a large body of the High-

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March of the Highland Army into England.

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landers were at Congleton, within nine miles of that place, and that their whole army, with all its artillery and baggage, was to be there that night. His Royal Highness had before ordered the cavalry at Newcastle to be alert, and two battalions of infantry, which were likewise posted there, to retire to Stone, six miles nearer Stafford, in case of the enemy's approach. About eleven o'clock of the 2d, the Duke, with the three battalions of guards, marched from Stafford for Stone; at which place, the army, consisting of eleven old battalions of foot, and six regiments of horse and dragoons, were assembled at four next morning. Upon positive advices of the Highland army marching by Congleton towards North Wales, the Duke's vanguard made a motion towards Newcastle. But, upon receiving other advices, that they were gone for Leek and Ashburn, it was resolved to march the army as soon as possible to Northampton, in order to intercept them in their march towards the south. Accordingly the Duke's army returned to Stafford on the 4th, and to Litchfield on the 5th. Here, receiving advice that the enemy had taken possession of Swarkston bridge, before the orders for breaking it down could be put in execution, it was resolved to encamp on the 6th, on Meriden-common, between Coleshill and Coventry, and next day near Northampton; by which means the army would be again before the Highlanders. The men, who had been a good deal harassed, bore the fatigue with great cheerfulness. The whole

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March of the Highland Army into England.

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cavalry, with two battalions of foot, marched into Coventry on the 6th, and the rest of the infantry encamped on Meriden-common. The flannel waistcoats for the troops, were by this time arrived at Coventry.

On the night of the 25th, about two hundred disorderly persons assembled in Ormskirk with a drum beating up for volunteers to enter into the Chevalier's service, and openly in the night proclaimed him King. The town's people thereupon rose, took and imprisoned ten or twelve, and dispersed the rest.

Marshal Wade, on receiving information of the motions of the Highlanders, called a council of war at Newcastle, in which it was resolved to march the whole army southward on Sunday the 24th, in pursuit of them. His excellency with the army were encamped on the 28th at Persbridge, and on the 5th December were at Wetherby. Here receiving advice of the march of the Highlanders into Derbyshire, the Marshal directed the cavalry to begin their march towards Doncaster on the 5th, however, they staid at Wetherby, to receive their bread from Leeds, and their shoes, stockings, and flannel waistcoats from London, which came to them at that place. The whole army were to be at Doncaster on the 7th.

Early on the 4th, the Highland army marched from Ashburn for Derby; they appeared to be a good deal fatigued, their march the day before having been a very great one. About noon Prince

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Enters Derby.

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Charles entered Derby, with four hundred and fifty horse, and two thousand three hundred foot. The army continued going into that town till late at night. They marched in such a manner as to make their numbers appear as great as possible, and to render it extremely difficult to take an exact account of them. They gave out that they would march on the 5th to Leicester, but they continued at Derby all that day, with their artillery in the market-place. Some of them talked as if they would make a sudden march, in order to slip the Duke of Cumberland's army; whilst others said, that they would see whether the Duke would come and give them battle. They levied the excise at that place.

Charles had now advanced within one hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with terror and confusion, and had he proceeded in his career with that expedition which he had hitherto used, he might have made himself master of it, where he would have been certainly joined by a considerable number of his wellwishers, who waited impatiently for his approach; yet this exploit could not have been achieved without hazarding an engagement. Orders were giving for forming a camp on Finchley-common, where the King resolved to take the field in person, accompanied by the Earl of Stair, field-marshal and commander-in-chief of the forces in South Britain. Some Romish priests were apprehended; the militia of London and Middlesex were kept in readiness to march;

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Consternation in London.

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double watches were posted at the city gates, and signals of alarm appointed. The volunteers of the city were incorporated into a regiment; the practitioners of the law, headed by the judges, the weavers of Spitalfields, and other communities, engaged in associations; and even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependants for the service of the government. Notwithstanding these precautions and appearances of unanimity, the trading part of the city, and those concerned in the money-corporations, were overwhelmed with fear and dejection. They reposed very little confidence in the courage or discipline of their militia and volunteers; they had received intelligence that the French were employed in making preparations at Dunkirk and Calais for a descent upon England; they dreaded an insurrection of the Roman Catholics, and other friends of the house of Stuart; and they reflected that the Highlanders, of whom by this time they had conceived a most terrible idea, were within four days march of the capital. Alarmed by these considerations, they prognosticated their own ruin in the approaching revolution; and their countenances exhibited the plainest marks of horror and despair. On the other hand, the Jacobites were elevated to an insolence of hope, which they were at no pains to conceal; while many people who had no private property to lose, and thought no change would be for the worse, waited the issue of this crisis with the most calm indifference.

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Charles calls a Council of War at Derby.

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This state of suspense was of short duration. Prince Charles found himself miserably disappointed in his expectations. He had received assurances from France, that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coast of Britain, to make a diversion in his favour; and he never doubted but that he should be joined by all the English malcontents, as soon as he could penetrate into the heart of the kingdom. He had advanced thus far, and, except a few that joined him at Manchester, not a soul appeared in his behalf. One would have imagined that all the Jacobites of England had been annihilated. The Welsh took no step to excite an insurrection in his favour; the French made no attempt towards an invasion; his court was divided into factions; the Highland chiefs began to murmur, and their clans to be unruly; he saw himself with an handful of men hemmed in between two considerable armies, in the middle of winter, and in a country disaffected to his cause. He knew he could not proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle, and that a defeat would be attended with the inevitable destruction of himself, and all his adherents. Hereupon a council of war was called, at which Lord George Murray proposed, that the army should retreat till they met the other army coming from Scotland; and in this proposition he was joined by all the general officers and chiefs present, who spoke very freely, and strenuously insisted on following his advice. Charles was ab-

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They resolve to retreat.

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solutely averse to such a measure, and endeavoured to persuade some of the members to come over to his opinion, but could not prevail upon a single person. Agreeably to this resolution, the army began its retreat early on the 6th; the men were ignorant at first, from the darkness of the morning, of the direction in which they were marching, but when they came to know, by day-light, from the marks they had taken of the road, that they were going back, there was an universal lamentation amongst them. The gallant Prince, who had marched on foot at the head of the troops all the way, who had always been first up in the morning, and had the men in motion before break of day, now lost all his gaiety and spirit, and behaved for some time as if no longer commander of the army, for though the rest of the army were on their march, and the rear could not move without him, he made them wait a long time, and when he came out, mounted his horse, rode straight on, and got to his quarters with the van.

At ten on the 6th the whole army returned to Derby, and then set out for Ashburn. The horse moved first; soon after passed their artillery, consisting of thirteen pieces of cannon; and then their main body of foot. When about a mile from Derby, they halted, and sent eleven or twelve officers back thither. These ordered a great sum of money to be raised instantly for the use of their army; which they carried off with them, and

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Proceedings while in Derby.

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threatened destruction to the whole town if they did not raise more.

A letter from Derby of the 4th December said, "About eleven o'clock, two of the van-guard of the Highland army entered this town, inquired for the magistrates, and demanded billets for nine thousand men or more. A short while after, the van-guard rode into town, consisting of about thirty men, clothed in blue faced with red, and scarlet waistcoats with gold lace; and, being likely men, made a good appearance. They were drawn up in the market-place, and sat on horseback two or three hours. At the same time the bells were rung, and several bonfires made to prevent any resentment from them that might ensue on our shewing a dislike of their coming among us. About three afternoon, Lord Elcho, with the life-guards, and many of their chiefs, arrived on horseback, to the number of about one hundred and fifty, most of them clothed as above. These made a fine shew, being the flower of their army. Soon after, their main body marched into town, in tolerable order; six or eight a-breast, with about eight standards, most of them white flags and a red cross; bag-pipers playing as they marched along. While they were in the market-place, they ordered their Prince to be publicly proclaimed before he arrived; which was accordingly done by the common crier. They then insisted upon the magistrates appearing in their gowns; but being told they had sent them out of town, were



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Proceedings while in Derby.

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content to have that ceremony excused. Their Prince did not arrive till the dusk of the evening. He walked on foot, attended by a great body of his men, who conducted him to his lodgings, the Lord Exeter's, where he had guards placed all round the house. Every house almost by this time was pretty well filled, but they continued driving in till ten or eleven at night, and we thought we should never have seen the last of them. The Dukes of Athol and Perth, the Lords Pitsligo, Nairn, Elcho, and George Murray, old Gordon of Glenbucket, and their other chiefs and great officers, Lady Ogilvie, and Mrs Murray, were lodged at the best gentlemen's houses. Many common ordinary houses, both public and private, had forty or fifty men each, and some gentlemen near a hundred. At their coming in, they were generally treated with bread, cheese, beer, and ale, whilst all hands were aloft getting their suppers ready. After supper, being weary with their long march, they went to rest, most upon straw, and others in beds.

“ Next day they beat up for volunteers, offering five shillings in advance, and five guineas when they came to London, but met with very little success. They ordered the crier to make public proclamation about the town, for all persons that paid excise, to pay what was due by five o'clock that evening, on pain of military execution, by which means they collected a considerable sum of money. They also made a demand of £100 upon

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Proceedings while in Derby.

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the post-office, and afterwards insisted upon £50, which not being complied with, they took the post-chaise along with them. Besides, they demanded what money had been subscribed and paid towards raising men in this town and country, which many gentlemen were obliged to pay. They appointed prayers to be read at six in the evening at the great church, which was performed by young Cap-pock of Manchester, since taken at Carlisle.

“ Early on Friday morning, their drums beat to arms, and their bag-pipers played about the town. No one then knew their route, but most imagined they would march to Loughborough for London, their advance-guard having secured the pass at Swarkston-bridge, though several had asserted the contrary; however, we were soon undeceived, by their precipitate retreat the same road they came, marching off about seven in the morning. Their Prince, mounted upon a black horse, left his lodgings about nine o'clock. We were rid of all of them, except a few stragglers, by eleven. Their hussars were a parcel of fierce and desperate fellows, and were the last body that quited the town. They ransacked the neighbouring villages for arms and horses, of which they got a great number.

“ Their artillery was at Nun's-green, not in our market-place, nor did the officers who came back raise any money, as had been formerly asserted.

“ By an exact account taken of the number quartered in each of the five parishes of this town,

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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there were in whole, the first night, seven thousand and ninety-eight; and the second night, seven thousand one hundred and forty-eight."

From Ashburn the Highland army marched to Leek on the 7th, and it was then thought their route was for Wales. Before they left Ashburn they shot two men, and took all the horses they could lay their hands on; they had here fifteen pieces of cannon and one mortar. On the 8th they marched to Macclesfield. Their van-guard reached Manchester that day. Some small parties of them raised alarms at Newcastle.

The Duke of Cumberland's army, as above observed, were encamped on Meriden-common, and were to march thence to Northampton; but several concurrent accounts arriving at the camp on the 6th, with advice that Prince Charles and his army had left Derby that morning, and marched towards Ashburn, the Duke, on the 8th, put himself at the head of all the horse and dragoons, and a thousand volunteers, to endeavour to stop them, and give the foot time to come up. Next morning Sir John Ligonier, with the brigade of guards and Sempill's regiment, marched from Meriden for Litchfield, where his Royal Highness was that day with all the cavalry, and a body of foot mounted, preparing to continue his march in pursuit of the enemy.

Mean time the Highland army continued its march northwards, and was at Manchester on the 9th. The bellman had gone about the town on

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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Sunday the 8th, to order all persons to provide pick-axes, &c. to spoil the roads, and again, to arm themselves with such weapons as they could get; and there were, it is believed, of the country and town's folks about ten thousand soon collected, armed with scythes, hedge-stakes, &c. who seemed very hearty to have a brush with the enemy. But the gentlemen considering, that if they did stop them, it must be attended with the loss of a great many useful lives, and the hazard of the town being burnt, the bellman went about the town to order them to disperse.

Next day at noon, about forty Highlanders came in. Several stones were thrown at them by the mob as they came through Hanging-ditch. They threatened to fire, but did not; and sat on horseback, some with pistols, others with guns in their hands, all ready cocked, till the main body came in. They billeted themselves most at their old quarters. From the rude manner in which they were received, they behaved worse than they did before. About seven o'clock the constables sent for several of the principal inhabitants to meet them at the old coffee-house, and there shewed them a warrant from Prince Charles, to raise from the town £5000 against the next day by four o'clock, on pain of military execution. It was thought impossible to do this, considering the sums they had extorted from the town before, which amounted to near £3000.

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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Next morning a considerable number of the inhabitants met, some of whom waited on the Prince, to acquaint him with the impossibility of raising the money, and to endeavour to have the payment excused. Upon this he mitigated it to £2500, and sent a warrant for that sum to be levied on Manchester and Salford by one o'clock; and while methods were contriving how to procure it, three or four Highlanders seized Mr James Bailey senior, took him to Secretary Murray at the Prince's lodgings, and told him he must be a prisoner till it was paid; and if it was not paid, he must go with them. Mr Bailey endeavoured to excuse himself, by saying he was betwixt seventy and eighty years old, and, to his remembrance, had not lain a night out of his own bed for two years, nor could bear travel. He was told, if he could not ride, they would endeavour to get him a wheel-carriage. Mr Bailey said, his confinement was an obstruction to the raising the money, and if he was at liberty he might borrow some. The Secretary brought an answer, that the Prince, in consideration of his age, if he would give him his word and honour to fetch him £2500 in two hours, or surrender himself a prisoner, consented he should have his liberty so long. This Mr Bailey agreed to, and went to the coffee-house, where a great number of the inhabitants were; and it being proposed that Mr Bailey and Mr John Dickenson should give promissory notes, payable in three months, to such as would lend any money, it was

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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agreed to, and the money being thereby procured, was paid about two o'clock. Their main body marched next morning, and the remainder in the afternoon, taking the road to Leigh, Wigan, and Preston. Their horse followed the same day. On the 11th they came to Preston, and halted there the 12th.

Late on the 10th, the Duke of Cumberland, with two regiments of dragoons, arrived at Macclesfield, having marched thither from Litchfield in two days, through terrible roads, by Uttoxter and Cheadle. The one thousand foot were but an hour's march behind, having been provided with horses by the gentlemen of Staffordshire, and the Duke of Richmond was expected next evening with the remainder of the cavalry. On the arrival of the Duke's advanced guard with the quartermasters at Macclesfield, the Highlanders quitted Manchester in the utmost hurry and confusion, and proceeded towards Wigan. His Royal Highness sent an order by express to the magistrates of Manchester, to enjoin them to seize all stragglers of the Highland army, or such as had abetted them, and to keep them in custody till further orders; and early on the 11th, he sent Major Wheatly forward with a body of dragoons. Orders were sent on the 10th at night to Bligh's battalion, then at Chester, to march to Macclesfield, and to the Liverpool battalion to take post at Warrington. The greatest zeal and affection were expressed upon the arrival of the royal troops in these parts.

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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Excepting at Manchester, where the Highlanders were joined by about two hundred persons, they met with no success in their expedition. Fifteen or sixteen stragglers were picked up about this time, and sent to different jails.

The horse and dragoons of Marshal Wade's army were in Doncaster on the 8th, and the foot at Ferrybridge. In a council of war, held at the latter place, it was resolved, that the army should march by the way of Wakefield and Halifax into Lancashire, in order to intercept the return of Prince Charles northwards: but, upon their arrival at the first mentioned place upon the 10th at night, advice having been received that the main body of the Highlanders were then at Manchester, and their advanced guard had gone towards Wigan, on their way to Preston, by which they got three or four days march of the Marshal's army, it was resolved to send Major-General Oglethorpe with a detachment of cavalry to pursue them, with all possible expedition, and to march the rest of the army towards Newcastle, both to begin their march on the 11th.

The Duke received intelligence at Macclesfield on the 12th, that General Oglethorpe, with his cavalry, would be that day at Wigan; and being at the same time informed, by several advices from Lancashire, that the Highland army was continuing its flight in the utmost disorder and confusion, and with such a panic, that many of them threw away their arms upon the road, his Royal High-

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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ness thereupon resolved to pursue them with all possible expedition. He proposed to be at Wigan with his whole cavalry on the 13th; and hoped, as the enemy had been forced to halt the 12th at Preston, to be able to come up with them in two or three days march.

At nine o'clock of the 13th, Prince Charles marched out of Preston for Lancaster. The same day the Duke of Perth, with about an hundred and fifty horse, left the army at the place last mentioned, and took the road towards Carlisle, giving out that he was going to fetch a reinforcement. Notice thereof was sent to all the towns through which he passed, and it was hoped the country people would intercept him, but only about twenty stragglers were picked up in different places.

The Duke arrived at Wigan, from Macclesfield, on the 13th at night.

At one o'clock of the 13th, the Georgian rangers entered Preston, the enemy having been gone about four hours before, and soon after a party of the Duke of Kingston's horse, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Mordaunt, and the Captains Lord Robert Manners and Lord Byron. The same day General Oglethorpe entered that town likewise, with a detachment from the Duke of Montagu's and Marshal Wade's regiments of horse, commanded by Major Otway, and St George's regiment of dragoons, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Arabin. These troops marched from Doncaster without a halt, and in three days marched



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above an hundred measured miles over snow and ice. They took a captain of the Highland army, named Mackenzie, and two men prisoners. As soon as General Oglethorpe arrived, he detached the rangers after the enemy; and next morning, the 14th, was himself at Garstang, with his cavalry, intending to advance that night with his whole corps, so as to post his regulars on Elhib-muir, which begins about three miles south of Lancaster, and extends beyond that town northward, and to detach his irregulars in small patrols, supported by parties of the regulars, with orders to attack any patrols of the enemy which they might fall in with. If they marched off, General Oglethorpe was to pursue them, and fall upon their rear, giving notice immediately to Major Wheatly, who was posted at Garstang with a considerable body of dragoons to support him, and the major was to be supported by the troops from Preston. The Liverpool companies were ordered to march from Warington, and were to arrive at Preston on the 16th.

Charles had certainly been now forced to an action, had not his English friends in the south luckily, at this critical juncture, done him some service. A report was successfully propagated, that the French were landed in the south; and this was so generally believed by the English, that an express was sent to inform the Duke thereof, whereupon he halted a day for further information, and sent orders to Oglethorpe to discontinue the pursuit, and march towards his army. Still more

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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happy indeed, had it been for the Prince, if this report had been grounded on fact; but the seas were so well guarded by the English fleet, that though a strong squadron of French men of war had been fitted out, with a great many transports, having a considerable body of forces on board, yet they durst not venture out of port. However the report was of great service to Charles, for had not the Duke and Oglethorpe been thus retarded, he would have been forced to halt; and though the general's troops were as much fatigued and disordered by their forced marches as his, yet they would, at least, have been able to obstruct his retreat until the Duke came up, and then the action must have been decisive; for his harassed troops could have little hopes of victory over an army so much superior in all respects.

However, on the 14th, upon better information, the Duke ordered Oglethorpe to continue the pursuit, whilst himself followed as fast as possible. On the same day, at eight at night, the Highland army began its march out of Lancaster for Kendal in a very great hurry, preceded by its baggage. They were marching out in different bodies all night. The last of them left the town at eight in the morning of the 15th.

General Oglethorpe hereupon got orders to push beyond Lancaster, and the Duke of Cumberland with the whole corps, proposed to be there, and Brigadier Bligh at Preston on the 16th. Lord

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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Sempill, with the two regiments of Scots fusileers, was to follow with the utmost expedition.

Some prisoners made the number of the Highland army amount to eight thousand, including women and boys; and said, that amongst them there were about four thousand clans, well armed, with guns and broad-swords; that the rest consisted chiefly of Athol-men and Lowlanders, and were but indifferently armed; that they had fifteen pieces of cannon of three or four pounders; that one Sullivan, formerly in the French service, had the charge of their artillery; that from their first entering England, till they came to Derby, they seemed resolved upon marching directly to London; but that at Derby, having heard how the Duke of Cumberland's army was posted, it was resolved, in a council of war, to return by Carlisle into Scotland; that there was a person with them, who styled himself the French ambassador; and that great numbers of the men had often declared, that, if they could get back into Scotland, they would leave the army, and return to their respective abodes.

In obedience to a letter sent by the Duke to the Deputy-lieutenants of Westmoreland and Cumberland, requiring them, by all means, to retard and obstruct the march of the enemy through those two counties, a resolution was taken at Appleby on the 14th, to raise part of the country, in order to demolish Wastal-bridge, to make the road from Kendal to Shap impassable for the

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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enemy's artillery or any wheel-carriages, and to break up the road down Graridge-hawse; whereby it was hoped their march might be so retarded, as to give time to the Duke's army to come up with them before they could get clear of those counties.

About ten o'clock on the 14th, the van-guard of the Prince's army, consisting of one hundred and ten horsemen, equipped and accoutred like hussars, among whom was the Duke of Perth, entered Kendal, with a chaise, in which was a person in women's dress. They rode up the town quietly, and turned through the fishmarket, down to the bridge leading to Penrith. When they were almost got out of the town, a gun was fired out of a house, and one of them killed: whereupon the town's-people closed in, and took two prisoners. The rest galloped on towards the bridge, where a halt was made on a sudden, and a few muskets discharged at the people, by which an hostler and a shoemaker were killed on the spot. They then fired a general volley, but without doing any more mischief, and after that pursued their way as fast as they could towards Shap. Their horses seemed to be very much harassed and jaded.

In the afternoon of the 15th, a party of their horse came into Kendal, amongst whom was their commissary. An hour after they were followed by the rest, horse and foot, who continued coming in till after it was dark. Their artillery, consisting of twelve or thirteen small pieces, was about the middle of the corps, with several covered carts.

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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The Duke of Perth after the scuffle at Kendal, proceeded on to Shap, and intended for Penrith, but seeing the beacons on fire, and hearing this was done to call in the country, he sent a small party to the Round Table, which is a mile south of Penrith, and five from Shap, to make inquiry; and finding it true, he returned for safety to Kendal about two in the morning of the 16th. Between four and five the drums began to beat, and the men marched out from day-break till near ten, in the same order as they entered, Lord George Murray being with the last company; but not being able to reach Penrith, as they intended, they were forced to lie at Shap. On the night of the 15th, mischief was apprehended at Kendal, but the magistrates pacified the chiefs in some measure. Next morning, however, after the alarm, they exacted a sum of money, and the rear of the troops plundered some houses for liquors, stripped those they met of their shoes, and attempted to fire a house.

On the 17th, the Duke was at Lancaster, General Oglethorpe, with the advanced-guard, was to be that day at Shap, and the rest of his Royal Highness's forces were to rest that night at Kendal.

General Anstruther was ordered to set out from London for Coventry on the 15th, with the first division of the foot, consisting of Sowle's and Skelton's regiments, and the other regiments were to follow successively,

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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Marshal Wade was on the 15th at Rippon. It was resolved to march his army, then encamped at Borough-bridge, in several divisions, by reason of the inclemency of the season, and to put them under cover every night till they should arrive at or near Newcastle. In pursuance of which, a thousand detached English foot were to march upon the 15th by Northallerton, Darlington, and Durham, to Newcastle, and were to be followed successively by the rest of the army.

Meantime the Duke of Cumberland continued to pursue the enemy with all expedition. On the 18th, with the King's own regiment of dragoons and Kingston's new-raised light horse, he came up with their rear, after a fatiguing march of ten hours. Prince Charles was at this time at Penrith, and knew not that his rear was in so much danger till it was over; for on sight of the English, Lord George Murray, who commanded the rear, which consisted of the Macpherson, the Glengary, the Appin, and Colonel Roy Stuart's regiments, in conjunction with Lord Elcho, ordered the men to halt in a village called Clifton, and there receive their attack. The sun was set, and it was beginning to grow dark, the moon sometimes was overcast, and at other times shone bright. The English cavalry were drawn up in two lines on the moor, about half a mile from the village, and dismounted that they might drive the Highlanders from the hedges and walls behind which they were sheltered; a considerable body accordingly moved

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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forward for this purpose. Meantime Lord George Murray made every necessary disposition to repel their attack; he placed the Glengary regiment in the high-road, on its right, Colonel Roy Stuart's regiment, lining a wall, and on the left, the Appin and Macpherson regiments, with a hedge in their front, at a little distance was another hedge with a deep ditch. His Lordship was aware that his situation was critical, and repeatedly went backwards and forwards, speaking to every commanding officer, and giving him particular directions what to do. He then put himself at the head of the Macpherson regiment, with Cluny by his side. On the approach of the enemy he ordered the two regiments to advance to the second hedge, which was lined by the enemy, but of which he was ignorant, who opened a very warm fire upon them, as they advanced; the Highlanders soon returned the fire, and before the dragoons could load again, attacked them sword in hand, beat them out of their intrenchments, and put them all to flight. Another body of dragoons at the same time advanced along the high road to take the two regiments in flank, but they were so briskly attacked by the Glengary and Stuart regiments that they retreated also with precipitation to their main body upon the moor. Lord George, who would have been overpowered by numbers had the action happened in the day, remained in the village about half an hour after the skirmish, and then continued his retreat to Penrith, where

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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he joined Charles before midnight. His loss in the action was about twenty men and officers killed, and thirty wounded. Among the latter was Captain George Hamilton of Colonel John Roy Stuart's regiment, who was taken prisoner; he was a man of great valour, and whom the Prince and his officers much confided in; he made a stout resistance, and killed two troopers with his own hand, but was at last dangerously wounded in the head and on the shoulder by one of the Austrian hussars who voluntarily served the Duke. The dragoons lost about an hundred and fifty killed, besides a great many wounded.

As soon as the news of this skirmish reached Penrith, orders were given by the Prince to prepare for a march forthwith; and about eight that evening they set out thence, and continued marching all night towards Carlisle, where they arrived at nine next day, the 19th. It was so dark, and the country so covered, that it was not possible to pursue them that night; and the royal troops being fatigued with the forced marches they had made through very bad roads, they halted at Penrith on the 19th, where they were joined by the greatest part of the foot that night, and by the remainder next morning.

St George's dragoons came to Penrith on the 19th in the morning, and marched on to Hesket, eight miles from Carlisle, where they continued all that night and next day. The rest of the army halted the 20th at Penrith.



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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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Marshal Wade arrived at Newcastle on the 20th, and gave orders for the immediate march of one thousand foot and fifty horse to join the army in the neighbourhood of Carlisle; they marched accordingly from Newcastle on the 21st, and were to be next night at Haltwesel.

On the 20th Prince Charles pursued his march northward from Carlisle, having staid there but one night, continuing his retreat for Scotland; he forded the river Esk, though at that time very much swollen, and some of his men were drowned, thus accomplishing one of the most surprising retreats that ever was performed; the most remarkable circumstance of which was the moderation and regularity with which his troops conducted themselves in a country abounding with plunder. No violence was offered; scarcely any outrage committed; and they were effectually restrained from the exercise of rapine. Notwithstanding the excessive cold, the hunger, and fatigue to which they must have been exposed, they left behind no sick, nor stragglers, but retired with deliberation, and carried off their cannon in the face of the enemy.

Charles was forced, against his will, to leave a small garrison at Carlisle, in order to stop the Duke, and prevent his pursuing him into Scotland, at least not so soon as to force him to an engagement before he got recruits of men, money, and spirits. It was with regret he left any garrison in Carlisle, for he well knew that they must be sacrificed to

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Retreat of the Highland Army through England.

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his convenience, but he was over persuaded by Mr Sullivan, who insisted that he ought to improve this opportunity, and run the hazard of sacrificing a few of his followers to the safety of himself and all the rest, who had so cheerfully ventured their lives, and experienced so many hardships, in this their unfortunate expedition into England, particularly the Manchester regiment. This small garrison, animated with a greater share of courage and fidelity to the cause they had embraced, than of prudence or human foresight, resolved obstinately to defend the city. They were greatly spirited up by Mr John Hamilton of Aberdeenshire, their governor, who represented unto them, that it was both their duty, and the most honourable thing they could do, to defend the place to the last extremity. "The place is," said he, "both by art and nature pretty strong, and we have artillery enough: the English have no cannon, nor can speedily bring any hither, so that we may, doubtless, hold out a month; mean time Prince Charles will certainly do all in his power to relieve us; and who knows how far it may be yet in his power? Besides, the English may not, perhaps, when they see us resolute, stay to besiege us in form, but follow our friends into Scotland; in which case you may do the Prince some service, by employing part of the enemy's troops to look after us, and thereby, in some measure, pave the way to his being a match for them in the field, whereas at present, he is in danger of being overwhelmed by

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The English Army invests Carlisle.

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numbers." The Highland army left all its cannon with the garrison excepting three pieces. Sixteen carts with its tents, were taken by Major-General Bland.

At four in the morning of the 21st, the English army marched from Penrith in three columns towards Carlisle, the infantry making the centre, along the post road, and the horse and dragoons in two columns; one on the right by Armathwate, and the other on the left by Hutton-hall. The army joined on Carlton muir. About noon they came in sight of Carlisle, and Major-General Bland invested it on the Scots side with St George's dragoons and three hundred men of Bligh's regiment, with orders to prevent any passage over the bridge upon the Eden, which leads directly to the Scots gate. Major Adams was posted with two hundred foot in the suburbs of the English gate, to prevent any of the garrison's escaping that way; Major Meriac at the Irish gate, with the same orders, and Sir Andrew Agnew at the Sally-port with three hundred. All the horse, and the foot-guards, were cantoned round the town, at a mile or two distant. The garrison fired their cannon upon every body who appeared in sight of it.

On the 22d the English army entirely invested Carlisle, it being thought proper to reduce this important key of the kingdom, before the army marched after Charles into Scotland. This step was disapproved of by many of the government's friends, who objected, that the army was amusing

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The English Army invests Carlisle.

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itself with a trifling siege, while Charles was suffered to escape, and had time given him to strengthen himself by a juncture of the several corps his friends had been raising for him in Scotland, during his excursion to the southward. But these censurers were doubtless unacquainted with the Duke's reasons for not immediately following his enemies out of England. They did not consider that he might, by the time he got to Carlisle, be convinced that he could never overtake or bring the Prince to a battle, unless the latter pleased: that though he might again come up with his rear, yet it would be still as difficult to bring the main body to an action, since, as before, the rear would cover the retreat of the rest; and further, that it could be of little advantage to the English interest to harass and weaken their army by forced marches and skirmishes with the Highlanders, who might, at least, lead them into such a country as they would find it difficult to subsist in, and in the end, perhaps, become the weaker party, and have their own retreat into England cut off.

In pursuance of this resolution, his Royal Highness sent for a train of battering cannon from Whitehaven, and it had orders to move with the whole *posse committatus*, which was to assemble at Wigan on the 21st. This train was expected at the army in a day or two, and it was proposed to have a battery erected by the morning of the 24th; by which it was not doubted but the English would be masters of the town in twenty-four hours.

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The English Army invests Carlisle.

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Only four pieces of cannon, however, having arrived by the 24th, the erecting of the battery was deferred; but next day six more pieces arrived. The garrison, meantime, fired almost incessantly. On the 28th at noon the besiegers began to batter the four-gun battery of the town with six eighteen pounders, but on the 29th it was found necessary to abate firing for want of shot, till towards evening, when a fresh supply arriving, it was renewed very briskly for two hours, which shook the walls very much.

That evening a man attempting to get out of the town, was taken by one of the advanced parties, and brought to the Duke. He delivered two letters, one for his Royal Highness, the other for the commander of the Dutch troops, supposed to be with his army. They were from a person styling himself commander of the French artillery, and of the French garrison that was at, or might come to Carlisle, for the defence of the town and citadel, and who subscribed his name De Geoghegan. The contents of them were, to summon the commander of the Dutch to retire with his troops from the English army, under pretence of the capitulation of Tournay.

The night of the 29th was spent in raising a new battery of three eighteen pounders, which was completed by the morning. On the first platoon of the old battery firing, the garrison hung out the white flag; whereupon the battery ceased; and they called over the walls, that they had two host-

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Surrender of Carlisle.

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ages ready to be delivered up at the English gate, which is on the opposite side of the town. His Royal Highness then ordered Colonel Conway and Lord Bury to go and deliver the two following messages in writing, to be signed by Colonel Conway; the second message being designed as an answer to the person's letter who called himself a Frenchman:—

“ 1. His Royal Highness will make no exchange of hostages with rebels, and desires they will let him know by me, what they mean by hanging out the white flag.

“ 2. To let the French officer know, if there be one in the town, that there are no Dutch troops here, but enough of the King's to chastise the rebels, and those who dare to give them assistance.

(Signed) “ Col. CONWAY,  
“ Aid-de-Camp to his R. H. the Duke.”

In about two hours they returned, and brought a paper written as follows:—

“ In answer to the short note sent by his Royal Highness Prince William Duke of Cumberland, the Governor, in name of himself, and all the officers and soldiers, gunners, and others belonging to the garrison, desire to know what terms his Royal Highness will be pleased to give them, upon surrender of the city and castle of Carlisle; and which known, his Royal Highness shall be duly acquainted with the Governor and garrison's last and ultimate resolution; the white flag being hung out on purpose to obtain a cessation of arms for concluding such a capitulation. This is to be given to his Royal Highness's aid-de-camp.

(Signed) “ JOHN HAMILTON.”

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Surrender of Carlisle.

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Whereupon they were sent back with the terms, signed by the Duke of Richmond, by order of his Royal Highness, as contained in the following declaration :—

“ All the terms his Royal Highness will or can grant to the rebel garrison of Carlisle, are, That they shall not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the King’s pleasure.

“ If they consent to these conditions, the Governor and principal officers are to deliver themselves up immediately, and the castle, citadel, and all the gates of the town, are to be taken possession of forthwith by the King’s troops. All the small arms are to be lodged in the town guard-room ; and the rest of the garrison are to retire to the cathedral, where a guard is to be placed over them. No damage is to be done to the artillery, arms, or ammunition. Head-quarters at Blackhall, December 30, half an hour past two in the afternoon.

“ By his Royal Highness’s command,  
(Signed) “ RICHMOND, LENNOX, and AUBIGNY,  
“ Lieutenant-General of his Majesty’s forces.”

About four they brought the following paper, signed also by John Hamilton :—

“ The Governor of Carlisle, and haill officers composing the garrison, agree to the terms of capitulation given in and subscribed, by order of his Royal Highness, by his Grace the Duke of Richmond, Lennox, and Aubigny, Lieutenant-General of his Majesty’s forces ; recommending themselves to his Royal Highness’s clemency, and that his Royal Highness will be pleased to interpose for them with his Majesty ; and that the officers clothes and baggage may be safe, with a competent time to be allowed to the citizens of Carlisle to remove their beds, bed-clothes, and other household-furniture impressed upon them for the use of the garrison in the castle. The 30th of December 1745, at three o’clock in the afternoon.”

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Surrender of Carlisle.

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On which Brigadier Bligh was ordered immediately to take possession of the town, and to have there that night four hundred foot-guards, and seven hundred marching foot, with one hundred and twenty horse to patrol in the streets. The Duke was to enter the next day.

The following is an account of the officers and soldiers, together with their artillery, taken in this place, viz.

ENGLISH.—One colonel, Francis Townly of Lancashire.—Five captains: John Saunderson, of Northumberland; Peter Moss, James Dawson, and George Fletcher all of Lancashire; and Andrew Blood, of Yorkshire.—Six lieutenants: Thomas Deacon, John Berwick, Robert Deacon, and John Holker, all of Lancashire; Thomas Chadwick of Staffordshire; and Thomas Furnival of Cheshire.—Seven ensigns: Charles Deacon, and Charles Gaylor, both of Lancashire; John Hurter, of Northumberland; James Wilding, John Betts, and William Bradshaw, all of Lancashire; and Samuel Maddock, of Cheshire.—One adjutant, Thomas Seddell, of Lancashire.—All of the Manchester regiment.—Ninety-three non-commissioned officers, drummers, and private men.—James Cappock, of Lancashire, made by the Prince Bishop of Carlisle.

SCOTS.—The Governor, John Hamilton, Aberdeenshire.—Six captains: Robert Forbes, Aberdeenshire, of Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment; John Burnet, Aberdeenshire, of Colonel Grant's; George Abernethy, Banffshire, of Lord Ogilvy's; Alexander Abernethy, Banffshire, of the Duke of Perth's; Donald Macdonald, Invernesshire, of Keppoch's, and John Comerie, Braes of Athol, of the Duke of Athol's.—Seven lieutenants: Charles Gordon, Aberdeenshire, of Lord Ogilvy's regiment; James Gordon, Aberdeenshire, of Colonel Grant's; Walter Ogilvy, Banffshire, of Lord Lewis Gordon's; William Stuart, Banffshire, of Colonel Roy Stuart's; two Alexander Macgrouthers, Perthshire,



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Surrender of Carlisle.

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and James Nicholson, all of the Duke of Perth's. The last broke the capitulation by endeavouring to escape.—Three ensigns: Walter Mitchell, and George Ramsay, both of Aberdeenshire, and of the Duke of Perth's regiment; and James Menzies, St Germain's, France, of Colonel Roy Stuart's.—One Surgeon, James Stratton, Berwickshire.—Two hundred and fifty-six non-commissioned officers, drummers, and private men.

FRENCH.—Sir Francis Geoghegan, a captain of Lally's regiment; Colonel Strickland, of no regiment; and Sir John Arbuthnot, a captain of Lord John Drummond's, all of Thoulouse.—One serjeant, Pierre la Locke, of Dieppe, of Lally's regiment.—Four private men, all of Lally's regiment: Francis Carpenter, of Dieppe; Pierre Bourgogne, of Tourrat; Jean Poussin, and Pierre Vickman, both of Dieppe.

ARTILLERY; 6 one and half pounder brass guns, 1 brass octagon, 3 brass four pounder guns, all with carriages, 4 brass coehorns, and 2 royals.

Mr Boyd, second son to the Earl of Kilmarnock, having fallen ill, was left at Carlisle when the Highland army marched south. A few days after, finding himself better, he set out to join the army, with an escort of about twenty men. At Lowther-hall, when at dinner, they were attacked by a great number of militia, headed by Lord Lonsdale's steward. They defended themselves desperately; and six of them, of whom Mr Boyd was one, cut their way through. The rest were either killed or taken.

During the siege the Highland army continued its retreat northward. After passing the Esk on the 20th, it divided. One body of about four thousand, quartered that night at Annan; and another body, of about two thousand, at Ecclefechan. Lord Elcho

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Prince Charles arrives at Dumfries.

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with from four to five hundred, proceeded from Annan to Dumfries; and the rest followed next day. Those at Ecclefechan took the route of Moffat. Prince Charles, the French Ambassador, the Duke of Perth, Lord Elcho, Lord Pitsligo, Lochiel, Clanronald, Glengary, and Keppoch, went by Dumfries; Lord Tullibardine, Lord George Murray, Lords Ogilvy and Nairn, by Moffat. On the morning of the 23d, the body at Dumfries marched thence; and the Prince proposed to lodge that night at Drumlanrig. A party of them shot a tenant of the Duke of Queensberry's, for running out of their way, and not returning quickly enough at their call. They levied the excise at Dumfries and intimated, that if either excise or land-tax was paid for the future to any other, the people might be sure of paying them over again double. They imposed a contribution on that town of £2000 in money, and one thousand pairs of shoes; seized about nine casks of gunpowder, all the arms public and private, horse-furniture, boots, &c. every horse that could be found in town and country, and took free quarters. Near £1100 of the money was paid; and Provost Crosbie and Mr Walter Riddel were carried off as hostages, till the remainder should be remitted. They ordered the town's-people to send their baggage after them; and at the same time assured, that if they heard that a finger was moved against any one of their stragglers, the hostages would instantly be put to death. They were guilty of some outrages, and

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Enters Glasgow.

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told the people, they had reason to think themselves gently used, that their town was not laid in ashes. The damage done in the town was estimated at £4000, but that done in the country was much greater.

The van of their army entered Glasgow on the 25th; and Prince Charles with the main body next evening, chusing rather to take possession of that city, (of which he resolved to raise another large contribution, for its active zeal against his party while he was in the south) than to attempt the recovery of Edinburgh, which the English had now put in a much better posture of defence than it was when he took it. Glasgow was also the more obnoxious to him, as it had ever been distinguished for disaffection to his kingdom, particularly in the reigns of Charles and James II. in which it was considered as the principal fountain of whiggism in the north.

Accordingly, he quartered his troops for several days upon the inhabitants, and before he left the city obliged them to furnish him with necessaries to the value of £10,000 Sterling. On his approach, the Glasgow militia who had not before marched to Stirling, secured their arms in Dunbarton Castle.

A subscription was opened in London on the 27th of November, by the Lord Mayor and others, for relief of the soldiers employed during the winter season towards suppressing the rebellion. The managing committee, by order of a general meeting of the subscribers, desired the opinion of the

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Precautions taken in England.

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Duke of Cumberland and Marshal Wade, how the money might be best applied ; and, by their approbation, contracted, on the 23d of December, for 12,000 pair of breeches, 12,000 shirts, 10,000 woollen caps, 10,000 pair of woollen stockings, 1000 blankets, 12,000 pair of knit woollen gloves, and 9000 pair of woollen spatterdashes, to be forthwith provided for the use of the army. It was also resolved, that £5000 should be set apart for the rewarding of maimed or wounded soldiers, and £300 applied as Marshal Wade should direct, for the more speedy recovery of the sick soldiers under his command, in augmentation of the allowance granted by the crown. To this fund £1000 was subscribed by the Chamber of London, £1200 by the Lord Chief-Justice Lee, the Master of the Rolls, and the Judges, £500 by the Civilians at Doctors Commons, £523, 19s. by the gentlemen volunteers, £500 by the goldsmiths company, £300 each by the drapers and fishmongers, £212, 14s. by the cloth-workers, £105 by the skinners, £100 each by the coopers and stationers, and £600 by Mr Rich, being the amount of three nights acting the " Beggars Opera."

On the 1st of December the remaining troops of Lieutenant-General Sir John Ligonier's regiment of horse, Lieutenant-General Hawley's, and the remains of Lieutenant-General Sir Robert Rich's regiment of dragoons, arrived in the Thames from Williamstadt.

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Precautions taken in England.

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On the 8th at night, several treasonable printed papers, called the Prince's declarations, were dropt on the parade in St James's Park, and put under the doors of people's houses.

The guards, Lord John Murray's (the old Highland) regiment, &c. marched on the 7th to Highgate, Enfield, and Barnet, and a large train of artillery was sent from the tower. The same day, the lieutenancy of London directed, that two regiments of the trained-bands should be out every night, and one in the day time; but upon the news of the retreat of the Highlanders, the orders given the troops were countermanded, the artillery returned, the day duty of the trained-bands was discontinued, and one regiment only ordered out at night.

The following proclamation was issued, of date December 6, " For putting the laws in execution against Jesuits, and Popish priests, and promising a reward for apprehending them within London, Westminster, the borough of Southwark, or within ten miles of the said cities of London and Westminster :"—

" GEORGE, R.

" Whereas, by an act of parliament made in the 27th year of Queen Elizabeth, it is enacted, That it shall not be lawful for any Jesuit or Popish priest, born within this realm, or any other our dominions, to come into, or be or remain in any part thereof, under the penalty of being guilty of high treason, in case he shall not, within three days after he shall come into this realm, submit himself to some bishop of this realm, or to some Justice of the Peace, and to take the oaths ; and every person, who shall

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Precautions taken in England.

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wittingly and willingly receive or maintain such Jesuit or Popish priest, shall be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy. And, by the same act, it is further enacted, That if any subject shall know that any such priest is within the realm, and not discover him unto some justice of peace, or other higher officer, within twelve days next after his said knowledge, but willingly conceal his knowledge therein, then every such offender shall be fined and imprisoned at the Queen's pleasure. And whereas it is, by an act of the third year of King James I. enacted, That if any person shall put in practice, to absolve, persuade, or withdraw any of the subjects of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, from his natural obedience to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, or to reconcile them to the Pope or see of Rome, or to move them to promise obedience to any pretended authority of the see of Rome, or to any other prince, state, or potentate, then every such person, their procurers, counsellors, aiders, and maintainers, knowing the same, shall be adjudged traitors, and suffer as such; or if any person shall, by any means, be willingly withdrawn, or promise obedience as aforesaid, such person is thereby made guilty of high treason. And whereas it is notorious, that great numbers of such Jesuits and Popish priests, taking advantage of the lenity of our government, in not putting the said laws, and other laws against Papists, into strict execution, have of late come into or continued in this our kingdom, exercising their functions, and have perverted, or attempted to pervert many of our subjects from the Protestant religion and their allegiance: and whereas, at this time of open rebellion in favour of a Popish Pretender to our crown, all such Jesuits and Popish priests are more particularly dangerous to the peace and security of this realm, and it is necessary that the said laws should be put in effectual execution against them, and more especially that they should be suffered to come into, or remain in or near to our cities of London or Westminster: and whereas, by our royal proclamation given at our court at Kensington the 5th day of September last, we did strictly charge and command all Papists and reputed Papists (except as therein is excepted) on or before Thurs-

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Precautions taken in England.

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day the 19th day of September last, to depart out of the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark, and from all places within ten miles distance from the same; and whereas we have received information, that, notwithstanding the said laws and proclamation, many Jesuits and Popish priests are so daring as still to continue and reside within the cities of London and Westminster, and borough of Southwark, and within ten miles of the same; we, for the better discovering and apprehending of such Jesuits and Popish priests, do by this our royal proclamation, by and with the advice of our Privy Council, strictly charge and command all our judges, justices of the peace, magistrates, officers, and other our loyal subjects, that they do use their utmost care and endeavour to discover, apprehend, and bring to trial, all Jesuits and Popish priests, except such Popish priests, not being our natural-born subjects, as, by the law of this our realm, are permitted to attend foreign ministers. And for the greater encouragement to our loyal subjects in the discovering, apprehending, and bringing to justice such Jesuits and Popish priests, we are graciously pleased to promise to him, her, or them, who shall discover, apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, any such Jesuit or Popish priest, who shall be found after Monday the 9th day of this instant December, in the cities of London or Westminster, or the borough of Southwark, or within ten miles of the said cities, the sum of one hundred pounds for every such priest; which shall be immediately paid upon conviction, by our High Treasurer, or Commissioners of our Treasury for the time being. And in case there shall be any doubt, who or what person or persons shall be entitled to such reward, and in what proportion, the same shall be settled by the certificate of the judge or judges who shall try the said offence."

By a vessel arrived at Dover on the 12th, advice was received, that an embarkation of troops was carrying on with great expedition at Dunkirk; that most of the vessels to be employed were

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already there; and that furniture was put on board them for one thousand horses. The following proclamation, dated the 12th, was published in a day or two thereafter:—

“GEORGE, R.

“Whereas we have received intelligence, that preparations are making by our enemies to invade this our kingdom, the safety and defence of which require our utmost care, and wherein, by the assistance and blessing of God, we are resolved not to be wanting: and to the intent that they may not, in case of their landing, strengthen themselves by seizing the horses, oxen and cattle of our subjects, which may be useful to them for draught or burden, or be easily supplied with provisions, we have therefore thought fit, and do by this our royal proclamation, by the advice of our Privy Council, strictly charge and command the Warden of the Cinque Ports, his lieutenants, deputy or deputies, and all and every the lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of our counties, and all sheriffs, justices of the peace, mayors, bailiffs, and all and every other officers and ministers, civil and military, within their respective counties, cities, towns and divisions, that they cause the coasts to be carefully watched, and upon the first approach of the enemy immediately to cause all horses, oxen, and cattle which may be fit for draught or burden, and not actually employed in our service, or in the defence of the country, and also (as far as may be practicable) all other cattle and provisions, to be driven and removed twenty miles at least from the place where the enemy shall attempt or appear to intend to land, and to secure the same, so as they may not fall into the hands or power of any of our enemies; wherein, nevertheless, it is our will and pleasure, that the respective owners thereof may suffer as little damage, loss, or inconvenience as may be consistent with the public safety. And we do hereby further strictly charge and command all our subjects to be aiding and assisting in the execution of this our royal command.”



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Precautions taken in England.

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At the same time alarm posts were appointed, and the several guards were ordered to be in readiness to march upon the first notice of any tumult or insurrection within the cities of London or Westminster; which was to be signified by firing of seven half-minute guns at the Tower, answered by the same signal from St James's Park, and *vice versa*. On hearing which signals, every officer and soldier of the six regiments of the city militia were likewise ordered to repair, with their arms, and the usual quantity of powder and ball, to their respective places of rendezvous, on pain of being punished as deserters. The like orders were given to the two regiments of the Tower Hamlets. Signals were also settled to the Sussex, Kentish, and Essex coasts, by putting out flags in the day, and in the night lights, on the tops of steeples and castles, so as notice of an invasion would be at the Tower and St James's Park in a few hours. About the same time three thousand foot and one thousand horse were ordered for the coasts of Essex and Suffolk, and four thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse for the coasts of Kent and Sussex.

Some time before, the Lords of the Admiralty sent orders to Portsmouth, for all the men of war to put to sea, and took up 50 merchantmen, to be armed for cruizers in the Channel. Admiral Vernon, and the Commodores Boscawen and Smith, were now at sea, each with a squadron. The Dover privateers had gone voluntarily to Admiral Vernon in the Downs in order to receive and fol-

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low his instructions ; on which he wrote them the following letter, addressed, "To the Captains of the three Dover privateers," and dated, "Norwich, in the Downs, December 10."

"BROTHER SAILORS,

"Captain Gregory having reported the hearty honest zeal you have expressed for the service of his Majesty, and preservation of your country, from the threatened attempts of the inveterate enemy to our laws, religion, and liberty ; which, like the honest, true-hearted brother sailors, you had roundly set about, manifesting by your actions the sincerity of your declarations, as your own judgment informs you of the present necessity for it, and that we cannot be too nimble for being before hand with them, as, according to the old proverb, 'Delays are dangerous ;' I take the earliest opportunity to send you, by Captain Gregory, my hearty thanks for the honest and laudable zeal you have expressed for the service of his Majesty and your country, under my orders ; and to assure you, that I will take care to do justice to the merits of every one's services, and that no endeavour of mine shall be wanting for procuring you a just, equitable and prompt consideration for the merit of your willing service, that you confide in the honour and justice of the crown for your being amply considered ; for I am, brother officers, both yours, and all our honest brother sailors friend and humble servant,

"E. VERNON."

On the 12th, two of the Dover privateers (the York, Grosvenor, and the Carlisle, Owens,) fell in with eight transports bound from Boulogne for Dunkirk, under convoy of a French man of war of 22 guns, to take troops on board. They captured three of them ; one of which, with about fourteen prisoners, was sent the same night to Admiral Vernon in the Downs, and the other two to

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Dover next morning. On the 19th, the same privateers fell in with about sixty sail, mostly fishing-boats and small vessels, from Dunkirk, bound, as they supposed, for Calais or Boulogne, to take in troops. They drove about seventeen of them on shore near Calais, blew up one, sunk two, and brought three away; two of which were brought to Dover, and the third lost in that bay. All the vessels taken had some warlike stores on board, such as small cannon, powder, ball, horse-collars, clothes and bedding for soldiers, and poles about seven feet long, spiked with iron at both ends. Other two French vessels, from Rouen for Boulogne, in ballast, were likewise sent into Dover, by one of the privateers belonging to that port.

About this time the country was justly alarmed by the following letter from the Admiral, addressed, "To John Norris, Esq. at Deal Castle, or to the Mayor of Deal in his absence," and dated, "Norwich, in the Downs, Dec. 20."—

"SIR,—As from the intelligence I have procured last night, of the enemy's having brought away from Dunkirk great numbers of their small embarkations, and many of them laden with cannon, field-carriages, powder, shot, and other military stores; the Irish troops being marched out of Dunkirk towards Calais; General Lowendahl, and many other officers, being at Dunkirk, with a young person among them they call the Prince, and was said to be the second son of the Pretender; as I can't but apprehend they are preparing for a descent from the ports of Calais and Boulogne, which I suspect may be attempted at Dungeness, where many of my cruizers are in motion for, and I have some thoughts of my moving to-morrow with part of my ships, if the

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weather should be moderate for a descent ; I thought it my duty, for his Majesty's service, to advise you of it, and to desire you will communicate this my letter to the Mayor of Deal, and that the neighbouring towns should have advice for assembling for their common defence ; that my cruizers signals, for discovering the approach of an enemy, will be their jack-flag flying at their topmast-head, and firing a gun every half hour ; and to desire they will forward the alarm. I am, &c.

“ E. VERNON.”

Upon receiving the above letter, the Deputy-Lieutenants of Kent published it, with the following invitation annexed :—

“ Every body who reads the above letter, willing and ready to stand up for the defence of their King and country, their liberties and lives, are desired to assemble on Sunday morning next, 22d inst. as soon as possible, on horseback, with such arms and ammunition as they have, and to bring two days provisions of victuals with them. The place of rendezvous, or assembling, is Swinfield Minis. It is hoped all the parishes and towns within twenty miles of the sea-coasts any way will not fail to be there, with all the able-bodied men they have.

“ The parishes near to the Minis are desired to bring some pick-axes, shovels and axes, along with them, besides their arms.

“ The DEPUTY-LIEUTENANTS.”

Accordingly near two thousand, or as others say four thousand, assembled on the day appointed. The place is about three miles from Dover.

On the 25th Admiral Vernon sailed from the Downs, with the following ships, viz. the Monmouth of 70 guns ; the Norwich, Ruby, and Falkland, of 50 each ; the Saphire and Folkstone of 40 each ; the Triton of 20 ; the Badger, Hornet,

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Weazle, and Hinchinbrook, of 16 guns each; and fifteen small tenders, privateers, and customhouse sloops. Remained with Admiral Martin in the Downs, the Yarmouth of 70 guns, and the Nottingham, Tilbury, Princess Louisa, and York, of 60 each. Under Commodore Smith, in the Swin, two ships of 40, and two of 20 guns each, four yachts, and six cutters. Under Commodore Boscawen, at the Nore, the Royal Sovereign of 100 guns, and some other ships. Under Admiral Stewart, at Spithead, the Royal George of 100 guns; the Prince George, St George, Duke, and Sandwich, of 90 each; and the Shrewsbury of 80. Under Commodore Moyston, at Plymouth, the Hampton-court, Prince Frederick, and Edinburgh, of 70 guns each; the Augusta, Defiance, Princess Mary, Superb, and Canterbury, of 60 each; and the Maidstone of 40: And under Admiral Byng, on the coast of Scotland, the Gloucester of 50 guns; the Pearl, Milford, and Ludlow, of 40 each; the Winchelsea, Bridgewater, and Glasgow, of 20 each; and the Raven, Shark, and some other small vessels.

A short while after this, Commodore Knowles, who had been sent to inquire into the true state of the preparations making in France to invade England, informed the Admiralty by letter, that he had stood within half a mile of the pier-heads at Boulogne; that he was of opinion there were not sixty vessels of all kinds in the harbour, the largest of them a galliot hoy, whose very gaff was much higher than any of the other vessels mast-

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heads; and that there was not a single one which had a topsail-yard rigged aloft. That he had been within two or three miles of Calais, and saw three or four small topsail vessels in the pier; that the rest were all galliots and fishing-boats, and did not exceed thirty in number. And that by Captain Gregory's account, who was sent to take a view of the preparations at Dunkirk, there were but five or six vessels in the road, and very few in the harbour.

An order of council was published on the 16th, extending from the 25th of December to the 25th of March, the time of enlisting soldiers, so as to be entitled to their discharge, if required, either at the end of six months from the respective times of their enlisting, or when the present rebellion shall be extinguished, whichever of them shall first happen.

The Parliament met on the 10th of December, pursuant to adjournment.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the Commons, by the King's command, that his Majesty had caused apprehend Archibald Stewart, Esq. member for, and late Provost of Edinburgh, on suspicion of high treason; and desired their consent to his being committed and detained. Agreeably to which an address was presented, and Mr Stewart was sent to the Tower on the 13th.

A motion was made, that an humble address should be presented to the King, that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give direction, that

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there might be laid before the House, copies of all orders which had been given with respect to the bringing home the British cavalry from the Netherlands, specifying the persons to whom such orders were directed, and the dates thereof; but it passed in the negative.—Ayes 38, Noes 101.

Next day the following message was presented to the Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer:—

“GEORGE, R.

“His Majesty having received undoubted intelligence, that preparations were making at Dunkirk, and other ports of France, which are now in great forwardness, for invading this kingdom with a considerable number of forces, in support of the rebellion carrying on here, in favour of the Pretender to his crown; and some French troops being already actually landed in Scotland, under the command of a person, who has sent a message to the generals of some of his Majesty’s forces, declaring, that he is come into this kingdom to make war against his Majesty, by the orders of the French King: his Majesty has thought it proper to acquaint the House of Commons with an event of such high importance to his crown, and to the peace and security of these kingdoms. And his Majesty having the last summer taken into his service six thousand Hessian troops, by virtue of a treaty concluded between his Majesty and the King of Sweden, Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, dated the 5th-16th day of June 1745, has judged it necessary to direct the said Hessian troops to be brought into this kingdom, in order, in conjunction with his Majesty’s British forces, the more effectually to repel the said invasion, and to suppress the present rebellion: his Majesty therefore doubts not, from the experienced zeal, duty, and affection of his faithful Commons, that they will enable him to make good the said treaty, will strengthen his hands, and concur in all such measures as shall be necessary for disappointing and defeating so

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dangerous an attempt, and for the security of his person and government, and the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom. His Majesty has also ordered a copy of the said treaty to be laid before this House.

“ G. R.”

A copy of the said treaty was accordingly laid before them; and thereupon the House resolved, That an humble address should be presented to the King, to return his Majesty their humble thanks for communicating to the House the advices he had received of the preparations making at Dunkirk, and other ports of France, for invading this kingdom in support of a Popish Pretender, and of the actual landing of some French troops in Scotland; to express their detestation and abhorrence of that daring attempt, and of the insolent declaration of the person who takes upon him the command of those troops; to return his Majesty their thanks for his paternal care for the security and safety of his people, in directing the Hessian troops taken into his Majesty's service last summer, to be brought into this kingdom, in order the more effectually to repel the said invasion, and to suppress the present most unnatural rebellion; to assure his Majesty, that the House would make good any expence incurred on that account; that they would with their lives and fortunes, support his Majesty's most sacred person and government, and heartily concur in such further measures as should be found necessary to put a strength in his Majesty's hands, sufficient,



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by the blessing of God, to deter our avowed enemies from prosecuting their ambitious designs, totally to extinguish the present wicked rebellion, and to rescue these kingdoms from all apprehensions of Popery and arbitrary power.

And, an address having been presented in these terms, the King gave the following answer, which was reported to the House on the 20th, viz. "I thank you for this dutiful and affectionate address. As I have always made the laws of the land the rule of my government, you may be assured I shall make no other use of the trust you repose in me, but to defeat any attempt of our enemies, and to suppress the present rebellion; which, by your vigour and support, I doubt not, with the blessing of God, soon to accomplish."

A message to the same purpose was sent to the other House, on which their Lordships likewise presented a loyal and humble address, and received a most gracious answer.

While the English army lay before Carlisle, four gentlemen were deputed by several of the principal inhabitants of Edinburgh, to congratulate the Duke of Cumberland on his success against the enemy, and to invite him to that capital, in case he should enter Scotland. The deputies were introduced to the Duke by the Earl of Panmure, at the camp, were graciously received, and had the honour to dine with his Royal Highness. They were eye-witnesses to the surrender of the place. The Duke entered on the morning of the 31st,

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amidst the loud acclamations of the people. Four dragoons found there, who had enlisted with Prince Charles, after the battle of Preston, were hanged up. The Duke's presence being absolutely necessary at London, he could not honour Edinburgh with a visit, but expressed the highest regard for the loyalty and affection of the inhabitants.

After the surrender of the place, his Royal Highness left the army and returned to London, where he arrived on the 5th of January in the morning. Marshal Wade with the army under his command, returned to Newcastle about the 20th of December, after having been in march more than a month, in order to stop the progress, or intercept the retreat of the Highlanders, but without ever coming up with them. A considerable body of troops were ordered for Scotland, and the command given to Lieutenant-General Henry Hawley.

Lord Lewis Gordon, brother to the Duke of Gordon, who remained in Scotland to support Charles's interest, while he was in England, was very active in raising men and money in the northern parts. His endeavours were ably seconded by Lord John Drummond, brother to the Duke of Perth, who brought over Fitz-James's regiment of horse from France, and who, soon after his arrival, published the following declaration:—

“ We Lord John Drummond, Commander in Chief of his Most Christian Majesty's forces in Scotland do hereby declare, That we are come to this kingdom with written orders to make

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war against the King of England, Elector of Hanover, and his adherents ; and that the positive orders we have from his Most Christian Majesty are, to attack all his enemies in this kingdom ; whom he has declared to be, those who will not immediately join or assist, as far as will lie in their power, the Prince of Wales, Regent in Scotland, &c. his ally ; and whom he is resolved, with the concurrence of the King of Spain, to support in the taking possession of Scotland, England, and Ireland, if necessary at the expence of all the men and money he is master of ; to which three kingdoms the family of Stuart have so just and indisputable a title. And his Most Christian Majesty's positive orders are, That his enemies should be used in this kingdom in proportion to the harm they do or intend to his Royal Highness's cause.—Given at Montrose the 2d of December, 1745.

“ J. DRUMMOND.”

Those troops brought along with them a train of artillery of 18-pounders, and, soon after landing, ordered it south. One of their cannon took twenty of the north-country horses to draw it. About the beginning of December, they gave out that they would cross the Forth, and talked of besieging both Edinburgh and Stirling castles. On notice of this, Price's foot marched from Edinburgh on the 6th, and Ligonier's on the 9th, for Stirling. A body of the Glasgow and Paisley militia marched thither about the same time. The Earl of Home commanded the former, and the Earl of Glencairn the latter. They were joined by the Stirling militia. The whole were posted so as best to secure the bridge of Stirling, and the fords at the heads of the Forth.

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About this time a drum was sent by Lord John Drummond, with letters to the King's generals, and to Count Nassau, commander in chief of the Dutch troops then in England. He touched first at Stirling. There he got an escort of eight dragoons. He arrived at Edinburgh on the 9th, delivered letters at the castle, and to General Guest, proceeded southward on the 11th, and arrived at Newcastle on the 19th. It is probable these letters related to the declaration above mentioned, or to the French cartel for exchange of prisoners. Marshal Wade caused the following return to be given to the drum: "That the Marshal had no answer to give to the letter brought by him; and that he can receive no message from a person who is a subject of the King and in rebellion against his Majesty."

Upon the news of the march of Prince Charles into England, and some successes gained by him, the Frasers, headed by Lord Lovat's son, formed a blockade of Fort Augustus: whilst Lord Lewis Gordon, in Banff and Aberdeenshire, was raising men and levying money, by force, and threats of the most severe military execution. The money imposed on the town and shire of Aberdeen being £5 Sterling or an able-bodied man, with sufficient Highland clothes, plaid, and arms, for every £100 Scots of valued rent, was computed at near £13,000 Sterling. On the 3d of December, the Earl of Loudon, with six hundred of the well-affected clans marched, in a very severe frost, from

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State of the North of Scotland.

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Inverness through Stratherrick, part of Lord Lovat's estate, on the south side of Loch Ness, to the relief of Fort Augustus. He met with no opposition, supplied the place with what was wanting, and returned to Inverness on the 8th; after letting the inhabitants of Stratherrick know what they were to expect if they joined the enemy.

This detachment, after one day's rest, was ordered to march and relieve Banff and Aberdeenshire. For this end, two companies of Mackenzies, who had been posted near Brahan, were called into Inverness on Monday the 9th. On the 10th, the Lord Loudon, with eight hundred men, marched out to Lord Lovat's house of Castle-Downie, to obtain the best security he could for the peaceable behaviour of the Frasers. At the same time the Laird of Macleod was detached with five hundred men (four hundred whereof were of his own kindred) towards Elgin, in their way to Banff and Aberdeenshire, to prevent Lord Lewis Gordon recruiting there; and they were to be followed by Lord Loudon, and as many men as could be spared from Inverness. Lord Loudon prevailed with Lord Lovat, upon Wednesday the 11th, to come into Inverness along with him, and to live there under his eye until he should bring in all the arms which the clan was possessed of; which he promised to do against Saturday night following, and highly condemned the behaviour of his son. Whilst Lord Loudon waited for the delivery of these arms, two hundred men, under Captain

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Monro of Culcairn, were detached by his Lordship to follow Macleod to Elgin and Aberdeen. Lord Lovat, after delaying to fulfil his promise from time to time, at last found means to get out of the house where he was lodged, at a back passage, and made his escape. In the mean time Macleod marched forward to Elgin, and from thence, hearing that two hundred of the enemy had taken possession of the boats of Spey, at Fochabers, and pretended to dispute the passage with him, he advanced on Sunday the 15th to the banks of that river, which the enemy, on his approach, quitted, leaving him a quiet passage. From thence he advanced on the 16th and 17th to Cullen and Banff, whilst Captain Monro with his two hundred men, on the 17th and 18th, advanced by Keith to Strathbogie; and the enemy, who were in possession of those places, retired toward Aberdeen. Mr Grant of Grant joined Captain Monro with five hundred of his clan, and marched with him to Strathbogie. Upon the 19th, it was resolved by Macleod and Captain Monro to march the next morning, the first from Banff to Old Meldrum, twelve miles from Aberdeen, and the last from Strathbogie to Inverury, which is at the like distance.

On the 23d, a body of Lord Lewis Gordon's troops from Aberdeen, attacked the party under the command of Macleod and Culcairn, at Inverury. A few were killed on each side, and Macleod and Culcairn, with their men, retreated. The victors took forty-one prisoners, among whom

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State of the North of Scotland.

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were Messrs Gordon of Ardoch, jun. Forbes of Echt, and John Chalmers, one of the regents in the university of Aberdeen.

By the direction of some French engineers, the Highlanders at Perth in some degree repaired Oliver's Mount, and had from a hundred to two hundred country people employed in fortifying the whole town. The officers who were prisoners there, were sent to Glamis. Letters from Inverness, dated December 22, said, that the division of the Highland army at Perth had got no accession of strength from that country, save between two and three hundred Frasers, headed by Lord Lovat's son, and some Macdonalds of Clanronald's people from Moidart, who had marched through Athol six days before that date, escorting a considerable quantity of Spanish money, that was landed in the island of Barra. There were advices about the end of December, that the Highlanders had got some of their military stores, particularly iron cannon and ball, from Montrose by sea to Perth; that they had fitted out the Hazard sloop and a privateer at Montrose, which were ready to put to sea; and that they were also fitting out an armed sloop at Perth.

A party of Highlanders and French came to Dunfermline on the 27th, to collect the cess and excise, and committed several outrages there and at Alloa. Besides raising the publick monies, they assessed several gentlemen in considerable sums, viz. Sir George Preston of Valleyfield, in £300,

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Mr Welwood of Garvock, in £250; Messrs Cunningham of Balbougie, and Charles Cochran, in £200 each; Sir Robert Henderson of Fordel, Messrs Blackwood of Pitreavie, and Erskine of Carnock, in £150 each; Messrs Colvil of Torieburn, and Dundas of Blair, in £100 each; and Messrs Robert Welwood, and Black, clerk of Dunfermline, in £50 each.

The French prisoners taken by the Milford, and lodged in the castle of Edinburgh, were shipped at Leith on the 26th, and sent to Berwick. Some of the officers were left in the castle; and sixteen of the private men were brought back to Edinburgh from Berwick, who were said to have deserted from the British forces when in Flanders.

By a medium of several computations, the number of Prince Charles's army, when it arrived at Glasgow, was about three thousand six hundred foot, and near five hundred horse, including fifty or sixty employed in carrying their sick. The horses were poor and jaded, and six or seven hundred of the foot had no arms, nor ability to use them. While they were there, they lost several men by desertion and death, and enlisted about fifty or sixty.

Besides these, it was thought there were about eight hundred Highlanders then quartered in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and several hundred at Montrose, where there were also a good number of Low-country men, under the command of Sir James Kinloch, and one David Ferrier, who had



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formerly been a merchant in Brechin. About four hundred French and a few Highlanders remained at Perth, and towards the end of December about two or three hundred men from Braemar and Cromar, came to Aberdeen to join Lord Lewis Gordon, then upon his march to Perth with eight hundred men; the number of Highlanders about Perth, Aberdeen, and the country adjacent, were at this time supposed to be upwards of four thousand.

On the other hand, accounts from Inverness, dated December 30, stated, that the force then under the command of the Earl of Loudon, was about one thousand seven hundred Highlanders; that of these, seven companies were then between Inverness and Spey, and the rest in the town, and that three companies more, of a hundred men each, were expected. Major-General Campbell arrived at Inverary on the 21st December, and proposed, in a day or two after, to march six hundred men thence, to join General Blakeney at Stirling. At Campbelton four hundred and fifty men were raised for his Majesty's service, and ready to march on one day's notice. By the 7th of January, there were seven hundred men at Dunbarton, consisting of three companies of Loudon's regiment, one of Lord John Murray's, both Highland regiments, and eight of Argyleshire militia, and Lieutenant-Colonel John Campbell came there that day to take the command of them. Price's and Lignonnier's regiments of foot, some of Hamilton's and

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Consternation in Edinburgh.

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Ligonier's (formerly Gardiner's) regiments of dragoons, upwards of five hundred Glasgow militia, and one hundred and sixty of those of Paisley, were at and about Stirling, guarding the passages of the Forth; but on the approach of the Highland army from England, moved thence to Edinburgh on the 23d of December, leaving Général Blakeney with the garrison in the castle, and four hundred Stirling militia in the town.

As there were few or no regular forces in Edinburgh when the news came of the return of the Highland army into Scotland, the inhabitants were under no small apprehensions, lest it should direct its march thither. Some of the public offices and valuable effects were secured in the castle upon the 22d and 23d of December. On the 25th, Price's and Ligonier's foot, and Hamilton's and Ligonier's dragoons, arrived in town from Stirling about the same time, but these took shipping at Borrowstounness, and came to Leith by water. It was at this time reported, that all the troops and the militia were to march for Berwick. Horses were provided on the 23d, and secured in the castle, in order, as was supposed, to transport their baggage, but they were discharged next day, and the troops did not move from Edinburgh. Notice was now got that the Highland army, having divided into several bodies, had directed its march westward; and that the first division of General Hawley's army were set out from Newcastle for Edinburgh, which in great measure eased

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Prince Charles assesses Glasgow, &c.

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the inhabitants of their fears. Meantime General Blakeney, having the enemy so near him on both hands, used the precaution to cut one of the arches of Stirling bridge.

Soon after Prince Charles's arrival at Glasgow, besides the demand upon that city for necessities, he likewise required lists of the promoters of the fund for raising a regiment in that city for the service of the government, the sums subscribed by each, and the officers who commanded it; but this the Provost absolutely refused to comply with. A contribution in money was threatened to be imposed besides. About the end of September, as has been formerly mentioned, when the Highland army was at Edinburgh, they made a demand of £15,000 upon the city of Glasgow, but were prevailed upon to lessen it to £5500, and it was now feared the city would be more hardly dealt with, for having armed against the Highlanders, notwithstanding their lenity on that occasion.— They assessed Provost Buchanan in £500, because of his having promoted the new levies on behalf of the government, and were very outrageous against all those who appeared zealous and active in raising them. They raised £500 at Paisley, levied the public money at Renfrew and other places, and made demands a good way round. Some of these, however, were never complied with, nor rigorously insisted on, particularly the following order, addressed, “To the Commissioners of Supply for the shire of Linlithgow:”—

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Prince Charles assesses Glasgow, &c.

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“ CHARLES, Prince of Wales, &c. Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging.

“ Finding it necessary to have an immediate supply of horses, we are resolved to raise them the most equal way, laying upon the different counties of this our ancient kingdom of Scotland, according to their respective valuations. You are therefore hereby commanded and required, to deliver us, on or before the 16th day of January next, where we shall happen to be for the time, twenty-five horses, of the value of £10 Sterling each, which is to be ascertained by proper persons, to be named by us for that purpose; otherwise to pay to our Secretary, for our use, £10 Sterling for each horse. And, for your relief, you are empowered to meet, and lay a tax upon the whole heritors, and others of the county, in proportion to their valued rents to the extent of this demand: which you are to comply with, upon pain of military execution, to be done against your goods and effects. Given at Glasgow, the 30th day of December, 1745.

“ By his Highness’s command,

“ J. MURRAY.”

After the troops that guarded the fords of the Forth moved to Edinburgh, Glengyle, with the help of floats (the boats being all destroyed), passed that river at the Frew, and placed a guard on the south side. Some hundreds of the Highlanders passed the Forth on their way to Glasgow when the army lay there; and the Duke of Perth, with a party of about one hundred and fifty, went from that place on the 28th of December, and was reported to go home. Small parties were continually passing that way, whether deserting, or marching to Perth, was not known. Charles’s troops being now well recruited, he formed the design of laying

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Resolutions to defend Edinburgh.

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siege to Stirling castle; and as all his forces would be wanted to carry on the siege, he dispatched orders to Lord John Drummond, Lord Lewis Gordon, the Master of Lovat, and other chiefs in the north, to advance with their troops and meet him betwixt Perth and Stirling. On the 30th, the cannon from Perth were moved towards that place; amongst which there were two pieces of eighteen pounders, two of twelve, two of sixteen, all brass, besides iron cannon, and a large quantity of powder and ball.

Another visit of the Highlanders was expected at Edinburgh. The inhabitants therefore, so soon as they were informed that the first division of General Hawley's army were on their march from Newcastle, took advice of the gentlemen of the army; and the following resolutions were agreed to in a council of war about the 28th of December:

1. That orders be given to lay in immediately a sufficient quantity of provisions.
2. That a corps of able-bodied men from the country be forthwith brought into the city, and added to the regular forces and militia.
3. That the cannon on travelling-carriages, harnesses for horses, cartridges for the cannon, primers, &c. be provided.
4. That the proper works be thrown up before the different ports, and the foot of the several closses; and that all the ports that shall be judged useless, be immediately built up.
5. That proper communications be made for the ready junction of troops round the walls.
6. That artillery-tumblers be

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Resolutions to defend Edinburgh.

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forthwith loaded with ball and cartridges, to be sent where there may be occasion. 7. That a quantity of wheel-barrows, pick-axes, shovels, and other necessary artillery stores be provided, together with horses to draw the train. Next day a paper was read in the churches, importing, that it had been resolved in a council of war, in case the Highlanders should approach, to defend the city against them, and therefore desiring such of the inhabitants as chose to stay in town, to lay in provisions for five or six days.

Meanwhile express after express was sent to the Prince's army, by their friends about Edinburgh, to hasten their march thither. News came to town on the 30th of December, that they had called in their clothing half made, and packed it up; which was taken for a signal of their march, and thereupon the country militia were called into the city. Pursuant to a recommendation by the Lord Justice-Clerk, lists of the able-bodied men, proper to be intrusted with arms, had been made up by the heritors of several counties, with the assistance of the parish ministers. A small corps of them accordingly came into town on the evening of the 30th, and a considerable number in a day or two after. Several ministers marched with their parishioners, some of them in arms. The volunteers of the associate congregations of Edinburgh and Dalkeith, seceders from the established church, kept in a body by themselves, and had proper colours, with this inscription,—*For Religion, the*

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General Hawley and his Army arrive at Edinburgh.

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*Covenants, King, and Kingdoms.* Their ministers did not march with them. All had arms and ammunition delivered them out of the King's magazine in the castle. The works about the city were likewise begun, and preparations made for a vigorous defence.

In a few days, however, the first division of the troops arrived, which rendered the continuing of the works unnecessary. A battalion of the Scots Royal and Battereau's foot having been provided with horses by the gentlemen and farmers of the Lothians, &c. to expedite their march, reached Edinburgh on the 2d of January; Fleming's and Blakeney's foot on the 3d, Major-General Huske on the 4th, General Hawley, commander in chief, on the 6th, Wolfe's and Cholmondeley's foot on the 7th, Howard's (the Old Buffs) and Monro's foot on the 8th, and Burrel's and Pultney's foot, on the 10th. The troops were entertained at Dunbar, Aberlady, &c. by the counties of the Lothians. Each soldier got a pound of beef, a pound of bread, a glass of Scotch spirits, and a bottle of ale. They were likewise entertained at Edinburgh, by the city, where they were received with illuminations, and other demonstrations of joy. Windows not illuminated were broke by the populace. Empty houses suffered considerably on this occasion. Some of the troops were billeted in the city, suburbs, and Leith, but the greatest part were quartered in public buildings and empty houses, the inhabitants

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Prince Charles marches to Stirling.

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furnishing them blankets by direction of the constables.

On the 3d of January Prince Charles, with his army, marched for Stirling, one column by Kilsyth, and another by Cumbernauld. The whole of the shirts, &c. imposed on Glasgow, not being made when they marched, Messrs Archibald Coates and George Carmichael, merchants, were carried along as hostages, for security, that what they had not got should be delivered. Next day they sent for printing materials, and workmen, which were accordingly provided for them.

Prince Charles lay at Mr Campbell's of Shawfield, near Kilsyth, on the 3d. Mr Campbell's steward was ordered to provide every thing, and promised payment, but was told next morning, that the bill should be allowed to his master at accounting for the rents of Kilsyth, being a forfeited estate. Next day, the army advanced towards Stirling, and were cantoned at Denny, Bannockburn, and St Ninian's. A strong party of their best men were detached to Falkirk, for a rear-guard. The Prince took up his quarters at Bannockburn, the house of Sir Hugh Paterson. Lord George Murray and John Drummond were at Alloa on the 4th, concerting how to bring over the cannon from Perth, by floats. They afterwards surveyed the passage at Cumbus, to see if it could be done more conveniently there, and then went to Dumblain, leaving one hundred men at Alloa.



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Enters Stirling.

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On the 8th, the Highland army entered Stirling, the inhabitants opening the gates, as the city was not defensible. The militia made their escape in small bodies. Their officers with all the arms went into the castle, where, as was assured, General Blakeney was well provided with men and provisions. At this time the Highlanders had no heavy cannon but two twelve-pounders, which with great labour they had brought round by the Frew. Immediately after entering Stirling, they sent off three four-pounders to the hill of Airth, to prevent the King's ships getting farther up the river, and to cover the passage of the rest of their heavy cannon, then lying near Alloa. Next day Prince Charles reviewed the troops at Falkirk, which amounted to one thousand six hundred and eighty-five men.

Some days before this, two sloops of war had sailed up from Leith roads, to guard the passages, so as to prevent, or at least retard the enemy getting their cannon, &c. from Alloa. On the 8th, General Hawley sent up some boats armed, and a small vessel with cannon, manned with three hundred men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Leighton, to destroy all the works which they had made to cover the passage. Captain Faulkener, in the Vulture sloop, one of the two first mentioned, on arriving in Inverkeithing road, sent a cutter and boats before; who upon their arrival in Kincardine road, saw a brig come out of Airth, which the rebels had seized in order to transport their cannon from Alloa. Next morning, the 8th,

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Siege of Stirling Castle.

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Captain Faulkener arrived in Kincardine road likewise, and receiving intelligence of the brig's having come out of Airth the day before, and of there being two more vessels there, liable to be seized by the Highlanders, he sent the boat manned and armed, to burn them; which they effectually performed, without the loss of a man, though the enemy fired some platoons from the town. While this was doing, the tide fell so low, that he could not return to the road that night; upon which the Highlanders in Airth opened a battery of three pieces of cannon, and in the morning began to play upon him very unexpectedly, but did him no damage. The fire from the sloop dismounted two of the enemy's cannon, killed their principal engineer, as was reported, with some others, and drove them all out of the town, and from their battery. After which, they drew off their cannon to Elphingston; and having got one more from Falkirk, with a reinforcement of three or four hundred men, who went off in a great hurry on the 10th in the morning, they erected a four-gun battery on the point of Elphingston, in order to guard the pass.

Colonel Leighton, with three hundred men, came to the assistance of the ships on the 9th. It was agreed to attack the brig at Alloa, which, according to accounts afterwards received, had on board two large cannon and ammunition. There were five more cannon at Alloa, three of which were mounted on the quay. Accordingly, fifty soldiers in a large boat, with the ship's boats manned and

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Siege of Stirling Castle.

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armed, were ordered up the river, to lie all night a mile above Alloa, to prevent the brig's going up that night; and Captain Faulkener and Colonel Leighton resolved to go up in the morning to attack the town, and take the brig from under the guns of Alloa. All this might have been executed; but the boats, after they had passed the town, unfortunately grounded, which discovered the design. The Highlanders immediately beat to arms, fired from right to left very near half a mile, and obliged the boats to retreat, with the loss of one man, and another's leg shot off. The brig's going up that tide was however prevented. It was resolved to get up next morning with the ships; and the soldiers were landed at Kincardine, in order to attack the enemy by land. But, while this was doing, the brig took the opportunity of sailing up the river next tide.

The battery which the enemy had erected at Elphinston was very briskly attacked by the Pearl and Vulture sloops, within musket-shot, and three of their cannon dismounted; but one of the sloops having had her cable cut asunder by one of their cannon shot, she was, by the strength of the ebb-tide, forced from her station; and the two pilots in the other (Morison of Leith, and Adams of Airth), having each lost a leg (by one ball, of which they died in a week or two after), they were obliged to quit the battery, and give up the enterprize; though not without retarding the enemy's measures for attacking Stirling castle. In this whole affair, only two sailors were killed, and

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Siege of Stirling Castle.

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ten or twelve wounded ; but the land forces under Colonel Leighton received no damage.

On the 8th, the Highland troops in and about Perth received orders to hold themselves in readiness to march to Stirling ; and on the 11th, in the morning, the Macdonalds, under Barisdale, and Moidart's brother, set out for that place ; as did the Frasers, under the Master of Lovat, in the afternoon. The Macintoshes and Farquharsons were to march next day. At this time there were only two hundred Gordons at Perth, but between four and five hundred more were expected in a day or two, together with four hundred French that had landed some time before. Two small sloops were then lately come to Perth from Dundee, with powder, ball, pickaxes, shovels, biscuit, wine, and spirits, fifteen swivel guns, and five hundred firelocks, brought from France for a regiment to be levied thereabouts for Major Nairn.

By the 12th the Highland army having got all its cannon over the Forth, broke ground between the church of Stirling and Mar's Work, for erecting a battery there against the castle. The ports of the town were shut up, and guards placed at all the outlets, to prevent people coming in or going out with intelligence to the King's troops. By the 14th, they had got together two pieces of cannon of sixteen-pounders, two of eight, and three of three, and were expecting four pieces more by water for their battery. They had also a great number of fascines ; but had not been

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General Hawley resolves to march to its relief.

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able to plant their cannon, General Blakeney having fired upon them several times from the castle, and demolished their works. Several expresses had been sent to their troops in Perthshire to hasten their march towards Stirling. Their numbers, however, on the south side of the Forth could not exceed six thousand, supposing them to have been joined by the greatest part of those from Perthshire, and that they had lost no men by desertion; whereas it was assured they had lost a great many. They had about one thousand more, which were cantoned in the north, including about four hundred French, who lay at Montrose guarding the Hazard sloop and their magazines.

A considerable army was now assembled at Edinburgh, consisting of twelve battalions of foot and two regiments of dragoons, regular troops; the Edinburgh and Glasgow regiments, and the Paisley militia, irregulars. General Hawley sent home the country militia that had been called into the city from the Lothians, &c. with orders to be ready at a call. When the march of the army was resolved upon, an advertisement was published by the committee of the subscribers for the Edinburgh regiment, dated January 10, importing, That it had been represented to them, that it was absolutely necessary for the public service, that his Majesty's forces quartered in and about the city should, in their march that cold season, have the use of the blankets which had been furnished them; and therefore desiring, that such persons as

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Proceeds to Linlithgow.

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had given blankets, and were not willing they should be so employed, might intimate a demand of them back again, by signing a paper which was to lie in the council-chamber on the 11th and 13th between ten and twelve o'clock noon; that otherwise it would be presumed they agreed their blankets should be so employed. Accordingly near three thousand pair of blankets were furnished to the soldiers by the inhabitants, and a further supply was offered if necessary.

On the 13th in the morning, five old regiments of foot, with the Glasgow regiment, and the remains of Hamilton's and Gardiner's dragoons, under the command of Major-General Huske, marched westward from Edinburgh. The same morning, about one thousand one hundred Highlanders, under the command of Lord George Murray and Lord Elcho, marched eastward from Falkirk, to carry off what provisions they could meet with. But soon after their arrival at Linlithgow, on Major-General Huske with the troops appearing near that place, they retired towards Falkirk, carrying off with them what forage and provisions they could find. Next morning, three regiments more marched from Edinburgh, for Borrowstounness, to be at hand to support Major-General Huske. The remainder of the troops marched on the 15th. The artillery, consisting of ten pieces of brass cannon, followed the same day; as did General Hawley on the 16th, with Cobham's dragoons. This corps had come to Dalkeith the day before,

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Battle of Falkirk.

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and passed the city that morning without halting. Along with the army marched William Thornton, Esq. with a company, called the Yorkshire Blues, raised, maintained, and commanded by himself; as did likewise several other volunteers, among whom were some clergymen. The Earl of Hopetoun gave twelve guineas to each regiment of foot, and twelve guineas to the two regiments of dragoons, to buy beef. The Edinburgh regiment and city-guard were the only troops left in town.

Major-General Huske, with eight regiments, marched from Linlithgow on the morning of the 16th, to Falkirk, where he was joined by one thousand Argyllshire Highlanders, under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell. Besides this corps under his son, Major-General Campbell had one thousand men in arms about Inverary, guarding the passes.

On the 17th the royal army and the troops under Prince Charles came to an engagement, of which there were several accounts published. The first was that sent to be inserted in the Edinburgh newspapers of the 20th, and is as follows:—

“ Thursday last, the army under General Hawley, having assembled near Falkirk, encamped to the westward of that place; and about one o'clock on Friday, there were repeated informations of the intelligence that morning received, that the Highlanders were marching by the south side of the Torwood, toward Dunipace. These accounts being confirmed, the army was immediately drawn up in form of battle, and marched forward to meet them.

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Battle of Falkirk.

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“The action began half an hour after three. The dragoons made the attack with the appearance of great resolution, but, upon receiving the first fire, reeled towards the right, and many of them fled. This, with a violent storm of wind and rain, which blew full in the faces of the troops, put the foot of the left in great disorder. This confusion being immediately perceived by the officers on the right; they, without loss of time, marched to stop the progress of the enemy, which they effectually did; and by their good conduct, and the alertness of some corps, drove them, by a continued fire, from the field with the utmost precipitation.

“In the mean time the disordered infantry was rallied. The Highlanders gave them nothing to do. The right wing was entire masters of the field, where the whole of the troops continued till it was dark, and a full hour after all firing had ceased. But finding that the rain had greatly spoiled their arms and ammunition, it was judged proper to pursue their advantage no further; and for want of provisions and ammunition, the army marched that night to Linlithgow, and continued its march next day to this city.

“The loss of the regular troops, by the best computation, does not exceed two hundred; and by all accounts the enemy had at least lost double that number.

“The regiments who distinguished themselves, were Barrel’s and Ligonier’s foot.”



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Battle of Falkirk.

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The accounts published in the London Gazette were as follow :—

“ Lieutenant-General Hawley having assembled all the King’s troops together near Falkirk, in order to attack the rebels, and raise the siege of Stirling castle, on the 17th in the morning their army made motion, and advanced towards him; whereupon he made the necessary dispositions for receiving them, and marched to a place called Falkirk Moor, about an English mile to the south-west of Falkirk, to give them battle. He was himself with the left wing, and Major-General Huske with the right, which had greatly the advantage of the left wing of the rebels. At the beginning of the engagement the horse belonging to the artillery ran away, as did some part of the infantry in the same wing; General Hawley retreated in good order to his camp at Falkirk, as did Major-General Huske with the right wing. The enemy did not venture to pursue them, which was greatly owing to the gallant behaviour of two squadrons of Cobham’s dragoons, and four battalions of the right wing. There were about three hundred of the King’s troops missing, and some officers were killed, but the particulars were not yet known. The officers did their duty, and led the men on with great courage. There were seven pieces of cannon missing. The loss on the part of the rebels was not certain, but it was thought to be considerable. A very great storm of wind and rain arose in the beginning of the engagement, which, beating upon the faces of the

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Battle of Falkirk.

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King's troops, was very disadvantageous to them. After the retreat, General Hawley had determined to remain in the camp at Falkirk, but the weather proving extremely bad, and having advice that the rebels were pushing to get between him and Edinburgh, he marched and took post there.

"We hear that the rebels were retiring westward from the place of action towards Stirling."

"*Whitehall, Jan. 23.*—This day at noon an express arrived from Lieutenant-General Hawley, with letters of the 19th from Edinburgh, containing the following farther particulars of the action upon the 17th near Falkirk:—

"The whole army being assembled, and Cobham's dragoons being arrived early on the morning of the 17th, it was resolved to march the next day and attack the rebels, who, by all accounts, lay with their main body in the inclosures near Torwood. But by the report of several persons who were sent out to reconnoitre, they were observed to be in motion early in the morning (as they had also been the 16th): but it was not confirmed that they were in full march against us till about one in the afternoon, when they were seen at three miles distance, marching in two columns towards the south, to some rising grounds upon a moor near Falkirk. Upon which our troops got under arms, and formed immediately in the front of the camp, and bent their march towards the same ground to which it was apprehended the rebels were going, being a large mile on the left of the camp. No sooner were

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Battle of Falkirk.

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the troops got thither, but we saw the rebels moving up, their right extending southwards. As there was a morass of boggy ground upon our left, so that their left was pretty near opposite to our centre. The dragoons were posted upon the left, and our foot was formed in two lines, part upon plain ground, and the rest upon a declivity. When all was formed, and our first line within a hundred yards of the rebels, orders were given for the lines to advance, and a body of the dragoons to attack them sword in hand. They accordingly marched forwards, but upon the rebels giving them a fire, they gave ground; and great part of the foot of both lines did the same, after making an irregular fire, except the two regiments of Barrel and Ligonier, under the command of Brigadier Cholmondeley, which rallied immediately, and being afterwards attacked by the rebels, fairly drove them back, and put them to flight. Whilst this was transacting, a body of the foot, by the care of Major-General Huske, formed at some distance in the rear of these two regiments; which the rebels seeing, durst not advance; and about the same time Brigadier Mordaunt rallied the scattered battalions into their several corps, in which he was greatly assisted by the officers, and pretty near formed them.

“ For some time before the army moved forwards, there was a violent storm of rain and wind; to which we may in some measure impute our misfortune; for it hindered the men from seeing before them, and consequently the rebels had the advan-

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tage of us greatly in that particular. Besides, as it rained also before that, many of the firelocks were so wet, that it was believed not above one in five that were attempted to be fired went off. Our loss was very small, the greatest part being that of the officers; several of whom, being left by their men, were lost: and we have reason to believe that of the rebels to be very considerable, by the report of some who were upon the field. It was a misfortune that we could not get up our artillery to us: for as it had rained heavily in the night, and the 17th in the morning, and having a steep hill to ascend, and the horses but bad, they could not get forward: and when we returned to our camp, we found the captain of the train had abandoned it, and the drivers had run off with the horses; which obliged us to leave some pieces of cannon behind us. The grenadiers of Barrel's regiment drew down one to the camp, and horses were found at Falkirk to bring away three of them.

"The evening being excessive rainy, it was thought proper to march the troops to Linlithgow that night, and put them under cover; otherwise we should have continued in our camp, being masters of the field of battle, and Brigadier Mordaunt was ordered to take post there. When we came to strike our tents, we found that many of the drivers had run off with the horses; upon which the General gave orders, that what tents were left should be burnt; which was done.

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“ During the time the army was on its march to meet the rebels, a body of them, with some colours, passed the river of Carron, towards the right of the camp, with a design, as may be apprehended, to attack it; but the Argyllshire men, being posted in front of it, kept them in awe, so that they prevented their advancing.

“ The Glasgow regiment was posted at some farm-houses, where it was thought they might be of use when the action begun; and remained formed there, notwithstanding they saw that the dragoons had given way, and part of the foot.

“ These letters also add, that it had been resolved that the army should remain at Linlithgow, whither it had retreated upon the 17th at night: but, upon examination, it was found that the troops had no powder that would take fire, from the excessive rain for twenty-four hours before; and thereupon a resolution was taken, upon the 18th in the morning, to march to Edinburgh and the places adjacent; where the whole army arrived that afternoon about four o'clock.”

On the other hand, the Highland army published, at Bannockburn, the following account of the action:—

“ *Falkirk, Jan. 17.*—Early this morning, the Prince Regent (having left the Duke of Perth, with several battalions, to push on the siege of the castle of Stirling) drew up his army in line of battle, a mile east from Bannockburn, which was the head quarters; being informed that the enemy, who were

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encamped at four miles distance, a little below the town of Falkirk, were advancing to give him battle. But finding, about mid-day, they did not move, he resolved, in a council of war, to march and attack them. - And immediately Lord George Murray, marched at the head of the army in two columns, holding above the Torwood, as the high-road leading from Stirling to Falkirk was too narrow. The army passed the water of Carron at Dunipace, the two columns keeping always an equal distance of about two hundred yards. They were then in sight of the enemy, being about two miles and a half distant. At the same time Lord John Drummond, who commanded the left wing, had gone with most of the horse to reconnoitre the enemy, and made a movement as intending to march the highway through the Torwood.

“ The two columns continued their march without the least stop, and went up the hill of Falkirk to take the advantage of the wind and rising ground. The enemy were perceived to be in motion from the time we past the water, and were marching up the hill. Their cavalry being in their front, and a good way before them, had now taken possession of a rising ground opposite to our right, and within half cannon-shot; upon which we immediately formed, being betwixt three and four o'clock in the afternoon. As it was believed their foot were forming close behind them, orders were given by his Royal Highness for the first line to march softly forwards (the second line keeping the usual

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distance), to drive them from that eminence ; which was done accordingly, with the utmost regularity and exactness ; for when they were within pistol-shot, the dragoons bore down towards us at the trot, in order to break us ; then our men gave part of their fire so *a propos*, that they entirely broke them, doing great execution.

“ So soon as our men who had fired charged their muskets again, which they did in their march, they advanced to attack the infantry ; but the ground was so unequal, being interspersed with risings and hollows, that they could not perceive what was doing on their left, only heard the firing upon that side.

“ Our left not being fully formed when the attack began on the right, a considerable body of the enemy's horse came up also to attack them ; but, receiving part of their fire, they broke and run off. Their infantry coming in upon that side with six pieces of cannon, were attacked by some battalions, who, receiving the fire of the enemy, went in sword in hand, and drove them down the hill with great impetuosity and slaughter. But not perceiving our right (by reason of the unevenness of the ground), they made a stop till such time as the two wings should join to the centre, and the second line come up.

“ His Royal Highness, who was mostly in the centre (attended by the French Ambassador), and whose attention was turned to all parts, seeing that the enemy had outlined us on the left wing, sent

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Brigadier Stapleton and the piquets of the Irish brigade, with some other troops, to take up that space upon the left. Then the whole army marched down towards the enemy, who were retreating on all sides in great disorder: but by reason of the unevenness of the ground, and night coming on, with great wind and rain, they could not overtake them, as they were positively ordered to keep their ranks. Had the enemy staid a quarter of an hour longer on the ground, they must have inevitably been cut to pieces: however they went off with the utmost precipitation; and were just got to the east end of the town of Falkirk, when Lord John Drummond entered on that side, Lord George Murray in the middle, and Lochiel in the west end. Lord John Drummond was slightly wounded in the arm by a musket-shot, at the end of the town, by one of the soldiers whom he was taking prisoner.

“ We took all their cannon, consisting of two large ones, five field-pieces, all of brass, three iron cannon, several mortars and coehorns, with a great number of shells, all their ammunition, waggons, tents, (which we found almost all standing, few of them having been consumed by the fire which they had themselves set to their camp,) three standards, two stand of colours, a kettledrum, many small arms, their baggage, clothing, and generally every thing they had not burnt or destroyed. We made above seven hundred prisoners, besides officers; and we



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reckon above six hundred were killed in the field of battle, besides what we were told were drowned in fording the river Avon.

“ We had not above forty men killed on our side ; among which were two or three captains and some subaltern officers. There was near double that number wounded ; amongst whom was young Lochiel, on the ankle, but so slightly, that it did not hinder him from marching in pursuit of the enemy to the town of Falkirk. His brother was likewise wounded.

“ His Royal Highness’s first care, early next morning, was, to send up to the field of battle, to cause bury the dead, as well those of the enemy, as our own people : and some of their officers, that could be distinguished, (of which it is said are Sir Robert Munro and Colonel Whitney) were brought down to the town, to be decently interred in the same manner as our own officers were.

“ Had not the night come on, and so stormy, his Royal Highness’s army would have got betwixt them and Linlithgow, and would have utterly destroyed them. All the officers and private men behaved with invincible courage ; and the order which they kept in their marching and attack, surprised even the officers who had been in the former and present wars abroad.

“ The Irish officers were of vast use in going through the different posts of the army, and assisting in the various dispositions that were made.”

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The following narrative was drawn up by Mr Sheridan, and by him transmitted to the Kings of France and Spain, the Pope, and other powers in alliance with Prince Charles's family:—

“ After an easy victory, gained by eight thousand over twelve thousand, we remained masters of the field of battle; but as it was near five o'clock before it ended, and as it required time for the Highlanders to recover their muskets, rejoin their colours, and form again in order, it was quite night before we could follow the fugitives. On the other hand, we had no tents nor provisions; the rain fell, and the cold sharp wind blew with such violence, that we must have perished had we remained all night on the field of battle. And as we could not return to our quarters without relinquishing the advantages of the victory, the Prince resolved, though without cannon or guides, and in the most extreme darkness, to attack the enemy in their camp; though the situation of it was very advantageous, and fortified by strong entrenchments, their soldiers were seized with such a panic on our approach, that they durst not stay therein, but fled towards Edinburgh, having first set fire to their tents. They had the start of us by above an hour; and some troops which they left at Falkirk disputing our entrance, gained them another hour; so that our cavalry being poorly mounted could not come up with them. Hence it was that in a flight in which five or six thousand prisoners might have been taken, we did not make above five hundred, only half of which

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were regular troops. They had six hundred slain, two thirds whereof were horse and dragoons, but we know not exactly the number of their wounded. Our wounded were not above one hundred and fifty, and our slain only forty-three, officers included. We have taken seven pieces of cannon, three mortars, one pair of kettledrums, two pair of colours, three standards, six hundred muskets, four thousand weight of powder, a large quantity of grenadoes, twenty-five waggons loaded with all kinds of military stores, tents for four hundred and seventy men, and all the baggage that escaped the flames. Among their officers that fell are five colonels and lieutenant-colonels, with all the chiefs of their Highlanders and militia. Our Prince, who at the beginning of the action had been conjured, for the love of his troops, not to expose himself, was in the second line of the piquets; but as soon as the left wing was thrown into some disorder, he flew to their relief with an ardour that was not to be restrained. In the disposition of his troops he followed the advice of Lord George Murray, who commanded the right wing, and fought on foot during the whole action at the head of his Highlanders. Lord John Drummond commanded the left, and distinguished himself extremely; he took two prisoners with his own hand, had his horse shot under him, and was wounded in the left arm with a musket ball. We should likewise do justice to the valour and prudence of several other officers, particularly Mr Stapleton, Brigadier in his Most Christian Majesty's army,

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and commander of the Irish piquets; Mr Sullivan,\* Quarter-Master-General of the army, who rallied part of the left wing; and Mr Brown, Colonel of the guards, and one of the aides-de-camp, formerly of Major-General Lally's regiment."

An anonymous account related the action thus:

"On Thursday, Jan. 16, General Hawley, with ten pieces of cannon from one to six pounders, joined the King's army encamped to the west of the town of Falkirk. On Friday the 17th early the rebel army were perceived, and their colours plain-

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\* This officer was by birth an Irishman, and educated in a Romish college abroad, where he entered into priests orders. He had the fortune to be recommended to Marshal Maillebois, by whom he was retained as a domestic tutor to his son. The Marshal perceiving in him some symptoms of a genius better adapted to the sword than to the gown, encouraged him rather to apply himself to the latter profession; which he did with such success, that, having attended his master to Corsica, when the French undertook to deprive these poor people of their liberties, he acted as his secretary. The Marshal, who was a *bon vivant*, and used constantly to get drunk every day after dinner, was almost incapable of business the greatest part of the twenty-four hours; during all which time the whole power devolved on Sullivan, who executed it in such a manner as to do great honour both to himself and his master; having here gained a very high military reputation, as well as much knowledge in what is called the art of making irregular war. He afterwards served two campaigns, one in Italy, and the other on the Rhine; in which latter campaign a French general giving a character of him, said, that he understood the irregular art of war better than any man in Europe; nor was his knowledge in the regular much inferior to that of the best general.

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ly discovered in the Torwood, about three miles west of General Hawley's camp. They made a feint of marching by the north side of the Torwood, to attack the King's army, which was then, about eleven o'clock, drawn up in order of battle, ready to receive them. But the general, finding the rebels did not advance, and that their colours still remained unmoved in the Torwood, and perceiving, as he thought, their main body still there, he, about one o'clock, allowed the troops to dine in their camp.

"The general having some time after got intelligence that the Highlanders had, under cover of the rising ground, stole to the southward, and were making directly, by Dunipace, to the top of the hill above the camp, and not then at a mile and a half's distance from it, he immediately ordered the three regiments of dragoons to march from the left as quickly as possible, to take possession of the top of the hill; and in the mean time commanded the army to be formed a little to the south of the village of Falkirk, and ordered the cannon up the hill after the dragoons.

"Prince Charles perceiving the dragoons intention, detached about fifteen hundred or two thousand of the clans, to prevent their taking possession of the ground, and to form the right of his first line; which they very quickly did; the main body of his army being still a mile and a half behind.

"It being now after three o'clock, and General Hawley not having got his cannon placed, or the

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army fully formed, he ordered the three regiments of dragoons, which had thus advanced from the left, to attack the detachment of the Highland army, and keep them in play until he got all in order. Which the dragoons very briskly did; but having received a very smart fire from the detachment, and not being supported, were repulsed, and fled back upon the left wing of the troops, and put them in great disorder. This being perceived by Lord George Murray and Lochiel, who commanded the said detachment, they very judiciously improved this advantage, came boldly down the hill, gave the left of the King's army a very smart fire in front and flank, threw away their guns, drew their swords, and broke them sword in hand. Whereupon the whole front line of the army, and all the rear line also, except Barrel's regiment, gave way; and the people that were driving the horses of the cannon, cut the traces, dropt the cannon, and ran quite away with the horses; by which means all the cannon were left, except three of the smallest, which happened to be behind the rear line.

“ Barrel's regiment in the rear of the right wing, and the Old Buffs and Ligonier's in the corps-de-reserve, having never been attacked, and continuing in their ground, were by General Huske formed into a line, and remained in that posture for a considerable time, until those of the Highlanders who were pursuing the left wing were returning up the hill to the main body, which had not yet reached the field of battle. Then these three regiments fired

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by platoons upon such small parties of the enemy as were returning from the left. At last a body of about four hundred of them thus returning, wheeled about, and advanced towards these three regiments, who received them with constant platoons. This body having no guns to return their fire, having thrown them away at the beginning of the pursuit, were obliged to retire up the hill to the main body, from which there was immediately eight hundred detached to support them. The three regiments perceiving this, retired immediately to their camp, and soon after to Falkirk, and from thence followed the remainder of the army to Linlithgow that night, leaving the field of battle, seven of their cannon, their whole ammunition, their dead, wounded, camp and tents, with such of their baggage as was in the field, to the enemy.

“General Hawley returned next day to Edinburgh with the army. The Highland army continued the night of the battle in General Hawley's camp, and town of Falkirk. A great number came next day to Linlithgow.

“The King's army consisted of twelve regiments of foot, three of dragoons, twelve hundred Campbells, one thousand other volunteers, and eight hundred trained Glasgow militia; in all about ten thousand.

“There were not above two thousand of the Highlanders engaged, and their main body never came fully in view. It was said they had above sixty-three killed, and above forty wounded.

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Major Macdonald, cousin to Keppoch, who pursued the retreat too far, was the only prisoner. It was said there were betwixt thirty and forty of the King's officers killed; and in that number Colonel Sir Robert Monro, Lieutenant-Colonels Biggar, Powell, and Whitney, fourteen captains, and a great number of lieutenants, ensigns, and other officers. One captain and two subalterns of the Highland army killed. Lord John Drummond slightly wounded in the arm, and Lochiel slightly wounded in the heel.

“ The King's army was drawn up in two lines, and a corps-de-reserve. In the first line, four battalions, viz. the Royal Scots, Pulteney's, Cholmondeley's, and Wolfe's. In the second line, five battalions, viz. Barrel's, Monro's, Fleming's, Price's, and Blakeney's; and the Glasgow militia on the left of all. In the corps-de-reserve, the Buffs, Bataillon's, Ligonier's, and the Argyllshire volunteers. On the left, three regiments of dragoons, viz. Cobham's, Ligonier's, and Hamilton's, with the cannon.”

The position of the several corps in both armies, of the dragoons as they engaged, of the foot as formed when the dragoons engaged, of the Highlanders as they moved up the hill and engaged on the highest ground, of the party of them moving towards the baggage of the King's army, and of the Argyllshire-men under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell drawn up to oppose that party, was as represented in the following page.



## Battle of Falkirk.

A morass.

## KING'S ARMY.

DRAGOONS.		F O O T.	
Ligonier	Cobham	Hamil.	Ar. High.
Wolfe	Cholm.	Pulteney	St Clair
Blakeney	Monro	Fleming	Barrel
Batterieau			
Glasgow			Howard

HIGHLAND ARMY.	
L. Jn. Drummond	
Prince Charles	450 horse
Cromarty, Farquharson, L. La. Gordon	Ogilvy, 2 b. Athol, 2 b.
&c. 700	&c. 700
Lochiel, 3 b.	Appin
Cluny	Clanronald
Keppoch	400
900	900
300	1000
400	1000
400	

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Battle of Falkirk.

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The line of dragoons was pretty near due south and north: the front line of the foot was likewise straight, it formed an angle at the south end with the line of dragoons, and inclined north-east; the space between the two lines of foot widened towards the right. The two lines of the Highland army are represented as parallel to each other, and likewise the King's army; but the left of their second line did not come up. The left of their army did not stretch so far north by a good way as the right of the King's, nor did the left of the King's army stretch so far south as the right of the enemy. According to a plan published at London, February 1746, the Highland army amounted to eight thousand four hundred and fifty; The same plan made the number of the King's army (including the Highlanders under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, computed at one thousand three hundred and twenty-five, and the militia under the Earl of Home, computed at one thousand) fifteen thousand five hundred and forty-five.

Doctor Duncan Monro, physician, who went along with the army purely out of brotherly love, was unfortunately killed, with his brother Sir Robert, in the action.

Glengary's second son, who commanded the Glengary-men, was killed in Falkirk, a few days after the battle, by the accidental firing of one of the Highlanders pieces.

On the 19th a court-martial was ordered at Edinburgh for the trial of some officers and men who

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Siege of Stirling Castle.

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behaved ill in the action at Falkirk, of which Brigadier Mordaunt was president.

The proceedings began next morning, and the court sat several days. Some private men of the foot were condemned to be shot for cowardice.—Two centinels sentenced to be shot at Edinburgh on the 27th, for throwing away their arms, and running off before the action began, got a reprieve the night before. Others who misbehaved, were severely whipped.

Francis Forbes of the Royal, John Irvine of Ligonier's foot, Dav. Welch of Pulteney's, and Henry Macmanus of Hamilton's dragoons, all Irishmen, were hanged in the Grass-market of Edinburgh on the 24th, pursuant to a sentence of a court-martial. The first three had deserted to the French in Flanders, and were taken on board the Lewis XV. coming to Scotland, the fourth had inlisted with the enemy after the battle at Preston.

Prince Charles marched to Stirling on the afternoon of the 18th. On that day the castle was twice summoned to surrender, once in the morning, and again in the afternoon : but General Blakeney's answer was, That he had always been looked upon as a man of honour, and that the enemy should find he would die so. The siege was therefore continued, but proceeded very slowly. General Blakeney fired so often upon the men at work on the batteries, and with so much execution, that they could not get any of their people to go near them ; for which reason the Irish brigade, and Drum-

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Siege of Stirling Castle.

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mond's regiment from France, were ordered to go upon that service. But about this time, according to the report of deserters from the said brigade and regiment, there were not two hundred men left of those who came over to Scotland from Flanders.

Meantime the Highland army was in great distress for want of provisions, and parties were sent out in every direction to carry off what corn and meal they could find. General Hawley distressed them all he could, by sending out parties from Edinburgh towards the west; and the King's sloops burnt several of the boats which were employed in bringing over their meal, &c. from Alloa. On the 28th another sloop (the Vulture, Captain Falconer) went up the Forth, with some cannon and foot on board, to be employed upon the same service. The enemy however endeavoured to secure all the meal they could get in the country.

All the prisoners (except some officers) taken in the action at Falkirk, were sent from Stirling to Down castle on the 25th, and upon that same day Prince Charles's baggage was sent to Leckie house. The principal part of his army then remained about Falkirk.

Hitherto the besiegers, not having got their cannon mounted, fired on the castle only with small arms from the houses: of which they discharged several platoons on the 26th, but without doing any harm. General Blakeney had not at this time lost one man of his garrison, whereas the loss the besiegers sustained by the firing from the castle

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Siege of Stirling Castle.

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was very considerable. Seven French officers were said to have been killed. On the 27th they had two batteries erected, one at Gowan-hill within forty yards of the castle, and one at Lady's-hill; and they gave out they should have their cannon mounted next day, consisting of two pieces of eighteen pounders, two of sixteen, and three of twelve. A drum had been sent round the town, with notice, that every person who was taken near the castle should be shot; and that if any of the towns-people entertained any of the wives or children of the soldiers who were in the castle, they should be punished with military execution. Accordingly on the 28th they had three pieces of cannon mounted, which began to fire next morning. The battery at the Gowan-hill was erected under cover of wool packs. By the fire from it, the upper part of the walls of the castle was a little damaged.

All this while, General Hawley was preparing to march the army west again from Edinburgh. Sempill's, Campbell's (the Scots fusileers), and Bligh's foot, were on their march for Edinburgh before the action; and Mark Ker's, St George's, and Bland's dragoons, and the Duke of Kingston's horse were now ordered thither likewise. Sempill's regiment arrived on the 17th, and Campbell's in a day or two after. The military chest from England was brought in on the 21st, escorted by a troop of St George's dragoons, and lodged in the castle. Upwards of forty gunners and matrosses, with a train of artillery, consisting of sixteen pieces

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The King's army receives reinforcements.

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of brass cannon, and stores from Newcastle, came in on the 26th.

Such of the prisoners taken by the Highlanders at Preston, as were at Perth, had been sent to Glammis before the end of December. These, with others at Cupar and Leslie, were delivered by armed parties of loyal subjects disguised, and carried by a detachment of said parties to Edinburgh, where they arrived on the 19th. The gentlemen thus retaken were, Lieutenant-Colonel Whiteford, of Cochran's marines : Lieutenant Patton, and Ensign Wakeman, of Guise's foot ; Lieutenant Kennedy, and Ensign Archer, of Lee's : Major Talbot, Captain Leslie, Lieutenants Wall and Rae, Ensigns Sutherland, Lucey, and Birnie, of Thomas Murray's : Major Severn, Captains Collier, Barlow, Anderson, Corbet, and Forrester, Lieutenant Swiney, Ensigns Stone, Cox, and Goulton, of Lascelles's : Captain Monro, Captain-Lieutenant Macnab, Lieutenant Reid, Ensigns Grant, Maclaggan, Mackay, and Campbell, of Loudon's : Quartermasters West and Young, of Ligonier's (formerly Gardiner's) dragoons.

These gentlemen, however, seem to have been under some difficulty how to behave on this occasion. They did not dress like military men till the beginning of February. About this time they put on their swords and cockades, by an order, as was said, from the King.

Some days after the army returned from Falkirk to Edinburgh, General Hawley sent for the officers

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Glasgow Regiment disbanded.

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of the Glasgow regiment; and, after thanking them for their past services, which he told them he would represent to his Majesty, he acquainted them, that as the time for which the town of Glasgow had agreed to subsist the regiment was then expired, and as his Majesty was to have, in this country, more than a sufficiency of forces to quell the present rebellion, he judged it his duty to dispense with their farther attendance, which was expensive both to the town and to themselves, and likewise a real loss to the country, by withdrawing so many useful hands from the manufactures. Upon which the officers unanimously assured the general, that they were willing to serve their King and country at their own expence, and that they would be ready at a call, whenever their attendance should be judged necessary, or in the least degree useful to the service. His Excellency afterwards received his Majesty's commands to thank said regiment. Being thus honourably dismissed, they went to their respective homes.

A French drum from the Highland army came into Edinburgh on the 28th with a message, as was said, to the commander in chief; but it was suspected his letters were not opened, for he was dismissed in a very short time.

Before the end of January, the Hazard sloop of war, taken a good while before by the Highlanders, sailed from Montrose, for France. About the same time a Spanish privateer arrived at Peterhead, with nine tons of gunpowder, three chests of money, and

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The Duke of Cumberland arrives in Edinburgh.

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several chests of small arms on board; all which were presently landed, and the money and powder conducted to Montrose by a party of the Highlanders. Captain Balfour (of Admiral Byng's squadron) afterwards took the privateer; but not being able to get her out of the port, on account of her being neaped there by the tides, he proposed to burn her.

When the news of the battle of Falkirk reached London, the government thought it highly necessary to take more vigorous measures for defeating the designs of Prince Charles, who was now more dreaded by the English than ever. The army in Scotland was so considerably reinforced as to free the English from their apprehensions of the further progress of the Highlanders; but as an invasion by the French and Spaniards was yet to be feared in England, it was judged unsafe to send many of its forces into Scotland. The Hessian troops in British pay, then lying in the neighbourhood of Antwerp, were ordered into the northern parts of Britain; some of them landed in the north of England, others in the south of Scotland, and immediately were assembled in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, under the Prince of Hesse, who had married a daughter of his Majesty.

The King also directed the Duke of Cumberland to repair thither, to take upon himself the command of the army, and his Royal Highness set out from London between twelve and one in the morning of the 25th, arrived at Edinburgh, attended by the



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Rejoicings in Edinburgh on the occasion.

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Duke of Athol, and by the Earl of Albemarle and other officers, about three in the morning of the 30th. Here the news of his intended journey was received with the greatest joy ; and there were extraordinary illuminations, bonfires, ringing of bells, &c. on the evening of the 29th, in expectation of his Royal Highness's arrival.

Before the news came to Edinburgh of the Duke's intended journey, the necessary preparations had been made for marching the army westward. At the late action, they had been greatly incommoded by a number of spectators, of which several thousands, from Edinburgh, Glasgow, and the country, were present. To prevent the like on this occasion, an intimation was made in the churches of Edinburgh on the 26th, giving notice, " That whoever shall presume to come within one mile of the army after its march from Edinburgh, without being duly furnished with a pass from the Right Honourable Lord Justice-Clerk, his Excellency General Hawley, or one of the general officers, they shall be punished, and must blame themselves if they be fired upon ; excepting such as bring provisions and forage to the army, who are to be paid ready money for what they bring, to whom all protection is to be given ; and excepting those also whose information may be useful to the army."

Another advertisement was published in the newspaper of the 27th, (which had been likewise intimated in the churches the day before, in the

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Cumberland marches to the relief of Stirling Castle.

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afternoon,) by the Honourable Walter Sandilands and Alexander Lind, Esqrs. Lords Sheriffs of Edinburgh, in these words, "Whereas we have just now received notice, that a regiment of dragoons are to be quartered in town to-morrow, and that other regiments are following; and whereas we are informed, that the common stables, and other stables within this city and suburbs, and the town of Leith, and precincts thereof, are much crowded with private persons horses, not in the service of the government, or belonging to the military; these are therefore ordering and requiring the proprietors of such horses, instantly to remove them from the said stables; with certification, if they be found remaining there this day by ten o'clock, they will be understood as left for the service of the army, and will be employed accordingly."

Every thing being ready when the Duke arrived, his Royal Highness immediately gave the necessary orders for the march of the army. He received the compliments of the clergy, the university of Edinburgh, the principal inhabitants of the city, &c. on the 30th. Early next morning the army marched, consisting of fourteen battalions of foot, the Argyllshire Highlanders, Cobham's dragoons, and four troops of Mark Ker's. These last, and two of the battalions of foot, the Scots fusileers and Sempill's, had not been at the late action. The artillery followed. Major-General Huske led the van. Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons were

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Cumberland marches to the relief of Stirling Castle.

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ordered to patrol along the roads leading westward from Edinburgh, in order to prevent any intelligence being sent to or from the enemy. The Edinburgh regiment and city-guard were left in town and some of the country militia were brought in. At nine in the morning the Duke set out. His Royal Highness passed through the city in the Earl of Hopeton's coach, mounted his horse without the city, and was soon up with the army.

The first night, Feb. 1st, eight battalions of this army took quarters at Linlithgow, where the Duke himself lay : Brigadier Mordaunt with six battalions lay at Borrowstouness, the dragoons in the adjacent villages, and the Campbells took post in the front of the army towards Falkirk, where Charles had stationed a considerable body, who retired upon the approach of the English, and marching back in the night to Torwood, they were met by a courier from the Prince, with orders to halt there until morning, when himself intended to join them with the rest of the army from Stirling and to give the Duke battle.

A council of war was called, to which he communicated his purpose ; and it was approved of by the officers and chiefs of the clans. Next morning Lord George Murray sent him an address of the chiefs, recommending a retreat to the north, on the ground, that the army was greatly outnumbered by the English, owing to many of the men having gone home to the Highlands, since the late battle, and had not returned. Charles remonstrated

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The Highland Army retreats to the North.

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against this, but the chiefs were inexorable, and it was at last thought expedient, to decline the battle for the present, and to march the whole army into the Highlands, where it was not in the least to be doubted but they should raise many recruits, and in the end either be able fairly to beat the English in a pitched battle, or to harass and ruin them by terrible marches, fatigues, the badness of the country, and the rigour of the season, none of which they were so able to endure as the hardy natives.

In consequence of this resolution, orders were issued that all the troops should quit the camp immediately, and pass the Forth at the Frew. This was done with all possible speed; for the consequence might have been fatal, had they given the enemy time to come so nigh as to fall upon their rear and interrupt their retreat.

Scarce any body in Edinburgh doubted that there would have been an engagement on the 1st of February: but when all people were anxiously waiting to know the fate of the day, news came that the enemy fled precipitately on the approach of the King's army.—The accounts of this flight were published in two Gazettes extraordinary, February 5, and 6. viz.—

“ *Whitehall, Feb. 5.*—This day, at twelve o'clock at noon, an express arrived from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, with the following letters:—

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Retreat of the Highland army.

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*Letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland to the Duke of Newcastle.*

*" Falkirk, Feb. 1, 1745-6.*

*" My Lord Duke of Newcastle.*

" In my last, of the 30th of last month, I informed you of our intention to march to the relief of Stirling castle. When I wrote that, I hoped that the rebels, flushed with their late success, would have given us an opportunity of finishing the affair at once; which, I am morally sure, would have been in our favour, as the troops in general shewed all the spirit that I could wish, and would have retrieved whatever slips were past. But, to my great astonishment, they had blown up their powder magazines, and were retired over the Forth at Frew, leaving their cannon behind them, and a number of their sick and wounded, besides twenty of our wounded prisoners taken at the late affair, which I have found here. I hope to be at Stirling to-morrow, from whence I shall be better able to inform you of all this strange flight.

" Brigadier Mordaunt with the two regiments of dragoons, and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell with the Highlanders, are in pursuit of them.

" I am your affectionate friend,

*" WILLIAM.*

" This moment comes in from Stirling a man, who says, Blakeney had put troops in the town, and that all the rebels had crossed the Forth. I inclose the best account for the present I could draw up."

*Letter from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland to the Lord Justice-Clerk.*

*" Camp at Falkirk, Feb. 1.*

*" My Lord Justice-Clerk.*

" I thought it proper to give you an account of what has happened since I left Edinburgh.

" Yesterday I marched from Edinburgh, with the army, in two columns, consisting of fourteen battalions, the Argyllshiremen,

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Retreat of the Highland Army.

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and the two regiments of dragoons of Cobham and Mark Ker ; and quartered myself at Linlithgow, with eight battalions' at Borrowstounness. The dragoons quartered in the adjacent villages, and Colonel Campbell with the Argyllshire-men in the front, towards the Avon. A considerable body of the rebels was than at Falkirk, and some few of them appeared on the hills between that place and Linlithgow. They gave it out, that they intended to stand another action with the King's forces ; but at the same time seemed very uneasy for their baggage, which they were endeavouring to secure on the other side of the Forth. They were very much disappointed at the defence General Blakeney had made in Stirling castle, and said it was impossible for man to take it.

" This morning early word was brought that the rebels had retired to the Torwood, and intended to make a stand there ; and that the rest of them from Stirling would join them at the place.

" I reviewed the whole army this morning, before we marched ; who were in the highest spirits. The advanced parties of the rebels retired with precipitation on the approach of ours, and our foremost scouts brought in some stragglers, who said the rebels were passing the Forth in a good deal of confusion ; being afraid, as they said, of another battle, because of the increase of our strength, and the great desertion there had been amongst the clans, which had much diminished their numbers. On our march we heard two great reports, like the blowing up of some magazine ; and it was soon confirmed to us, for the rebels had blown up a very large quantity of powder in the church of St Ninian's, before they went off.

" On my arrival here, I found all our wounded men whom they had made prisoners in the late action, and in their retreat had been obliged to leave behind them. And I hear they have left their artillery at Stirling spiked up.

" As soon as I came here I detached Brigadier Mordaunt, with the Argyllshire-men, and all the dragoons, in pursuit of them ; though it was imagined that most of them will have escaped at the ford of Frew, as they generally make a good deal of haste

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*Retreat of the Highland Army.*

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when they are going off. They have lost a great many men at Stirling, and say it is all over with them, and they shall make to Montrose. One circumstance was particular, that Lady Kilmarnock, who till last night had always staid at Callender-house, went off with them.

"I propose to march to-morrow morning to Stirling, and there take measures for further quieting these parts of his Majesty's dominions. I am," &c.

*Letter the Lord Justice-Clerk to the Duke of Newcastle.*

*Edinburgh, February 1.*

*"My Lord Duke,*

"The arrival of his Royal Highness the Duke has done the business, animated our army, and struck the rebels with terror and confusion. He lost no time to improve these advantages, marched the whole army yesterday to Linlithgow and the adjacent places, and continued his march this morning to Falkirk; the rebels always flying before him. This morning the rebels renewed their fire against Stirling castle; but General Blakeney continuing to make a good defence, they raised the siege, and have blown up their magazine of powder, and, as believed, have spiked their cannon, and the whole army of the rebels have fled with precipitation, and crossed the Forth at the ford of the Frew; and his Royal Highness has sent on the dragoons and Argyllshire-men to take possession of Stirling, and remains with the foot this night at Falkirk. Wishing your Grace joy of this great and good news. I am, &c.

*"AND. FLETCHER."*

"*Whitehall, Feb. 6.*—Late last night another express arrived from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, with letters, dated Stirling, February 2, giving an account, That his Royal Highness arrived there at one o'clock that afternoon, without meeting the least obstacle or resistance;

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Retreat of the Highland Army.

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as Brigadier Mordaunt had also done the night before, but too late to pursue the rebels. Their precipitate flight is not to be described. They were all to be at Perth the 2d, where, as their own men declare, they would not stay for his Royal Highness to come up to them. When the rebels heard that his Royal Highness was got to Linlithgow, they held a council, and drew out their men, declaring that they would meet him; but as soon as the baggage and the cannon they lately took were moved off, they told the country people that they were going to meet a reinforcement; but that as they could not carry away their plunder, they would give it to them; and that it was in St Ninian's church, where they had made a magazine of powder and ball. And when the country people went to take it away, the rebels attempted to set fire to the magazine; but fortunately the first train missed, so that several escaped; but the second was so soon fired, that many poor people were blown up, and buried in the ruins.

"After the rebels had crossed the Forth, many of the leaders told their men to shift for themselves. They talk of going from Perth to Dundee, and so on to Montrose, and his Royal Highness has sent proper orders to Rear-Admiral Byng to prevent their getting off.

"As soon as his Royal Highness can get the bridge of Stirling mended, he will follow to Perth, and so on whilst the rebels remain in a body. About twenty of their sick have been taken at Stirling;



Retreat of the Highland Army.

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and Captain Fitzgerald, of Monro's regiment, and an ensign of Lee's, were retaken.

"His Royal Highness was pleased to commend extremely the behaviour of General Blackeney, who by his conduct, as well as courage, has saved the castle of Stirling, which is a place of the greatest importance, from falling into the hands of the rebels. The castle would have held out; but the provisions and firing were almost consumed."

The Highland army carried its prisoners, except the hostages from Glasgow, along with it; but several of those confined in Down castle\* made their escape, and came to Edinburgh, as did likewise Major Lockhart, and Mr Gordon of Ardoch, who prevailed upon the officer on guard to let them escape, and to come himself with them to town. He was admitted to bail.

A fresh supply of about one hundred and twenty horses from Newcastle, for the service of the army, came to Edinburgh the day it marched, and followed. Bligh's regiment came into town next evening, having been furnished with horses by the country people, to expedite their march. That

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\* The Reverend John Home, author of the tragedy of *Douglas*, and the Reverend Dr Wotherspoon of Paisley, taken prisoners at the battle of Falkirk, were amongst the number confined in Down castle. When called upon by a neighbouring gentleman, he was told by Captain M'Gregor, then upon guard, that none was so busy as Dr Wotherspoon in projecting and aiding the escape of the prisoners: and, on being admitted, found their reverences amusing themselves with cards.

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Retreat of the Highland Army.

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day Major General Bland arrived in town, and set out after the army next morning; as did likewise Sir Everard Fawkener, the Duke's secretary, the Earl of Ancrum, and other officers.

After the Highland army crossed the Forth, it proceeded to Crieff, where it divided, and marched in three separate corps; the clans with Prince Charles, by Tay-bridge; a body of Lowlanders, by Dunkeld; and the third corps, by Perth. They were entering this town in straggling parties on horseback from nine in the morning of the 2d, till seven at night; then Lord Lewis Gordon's, Lord Ogilvie's, and Sir James Kinloch's men, came in a body; as did the French piquets about nine. These last consisted of not above one hundred men, and the whole amounted to about fifteen hundred. About two hundred stragglers followed on the 3d. The same day came in from Crieff one hundred and forty men, commanded by Mr Robertson of Faskally and Blairfetty, and brought in seven pieces of brass cannon and four covered waggons. Nineteen carts with ammunition had come in the day before. The persons of greatest distinction that came to Perth were, the French Ambassador, the Earl of Kilmarnock, the Lords Pitsligo, Elcho, Ogilvie, Lewis Gordon, George Murray, and John Drummond, Secretary Murray, Sir John Macleod and his brother, Brigadier Stapleton, Majors Nairn and Kennedy, and Mr Mitchell. It was given out that the several corps were to join again, and attack Lord Loudon at Inverness.

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The Highland Army crosses the Tay.

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On the 3d, there went for Dunkeld seven pieces of brass cannon, four covered waggons, and fourteen carts with ammunition, escorted by Lord Lewis Gordon's men. The same day, the main body of horse and foot, consisting of the life-guards, Pit-sligo's, Ogilvie's, and Sir James Kinloch's men, crossed the Tay in a straggling manner, and took the route for Montrose by Cupar of Angus. Several of the above gentlemen went with them.

On the 4th, the French piquets, about one hundred men, commanded by Colonel Crichton, who lay in garrison at Perth, and the men commanded by Faskally and Blairfetty, passed the river likewise; as did Lord Strathallan, Gask, Lord George Murray, and the remaining part of the gentlemen above mentioned, excepting Secretary Murray, who went on the afternoon of the 3d to Lord John Drummond's at Fairnton, where Prince Charles was; and the French Ambassador, the Earl of Kilmarnock, Macleod of Raza, and another gentleman, who went in a coach for Dunkeld. At Perth the Highlanders left thirteen pieces of iron cannon, about eight and twelve pounders, nailed up; and threw into the river a great quantity of cannon-balls, and fourteen swivel-guns that formerly belonged to the Hazard sloop; but the guns were taken out again next morning. About an hour after they had evacuated Perth, which was between eleven and twelve in the forenoon of the 4th, a small party of their rear from Crieff marched through that town, and crossed the river.

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The Duke of Cumberland enters Perth.

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The van of the King's army entered Stirling on the 1st February; as did the Duke next day.—His Royal Highness was saluted by a triple discharge of the great guns of the castle, which he had so seasonably relieved. As an arch of Stirling bridge had been broken down by General Blakeney's order, the army was obliged to stop till it was repaired. One Riddel was apprehended at Stirling as a spy, and hanged. He had one of Prince Charles's passes in his pocket. This very person was sentenced by the enemy when in Edinburgh, to be hanged for robbery and horse-stealing; but his sentence was afterwards commuted to whipping and banishment.

By six o'clock in the morning of the 4th, the arch of Stirling bridge was repaired, and that day the army passed over. The advanced guard, consisting of the Argyllshire Highlanders and the dragoons, went on to Crieff, and the foot were cantoned in and about Dunblane, where the Duke lay that night, and next day reached Crieff. A party released Sir Patrick Murray and Mr Griffith, who had been made prisoners at Preston, and were on parole. The advanced guard took possession of Perth on the 5th, and the Duke arrived there on the 6th. Thence two detachments of five hundred foot each were sent forward; one to Dunkeld, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Andrew Agnew, to which one hundred and twenty Argyllshire-men were added; the other under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Leighton, to Castle

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Ravages of his Soldiers.

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Menzies, a mile north of Tay bridge. The main body of the army remained some days at Perth, in order to rest the foot after the great fatigue they had undergone. Here magazines of bread and forage were ordered to be laid in. The Duke of Athol crossed the Forth at Leith on the 4th, and was at Perth when the Duke of Cumberland arrived there.

In their way to Perth, the army marched through some of the Drummond's, Strathallan's, and other disaffected persons' estates, where the soldiers gave a specimen of what they would do, in revenge for the fatigues and hardships they had suffered, if they were at once let loose without controul. A letter from Perth, February 6, says, "Our soldiers have made a kind of military auction, or public sale, of household goods, cattle, sheep, hogs, &c. with what little silver plate they have been able to find in the houses of such gentlemen as were with the enemy." Another letter, dated Stirling, February 13, says "Our army, in their march from Stirling to Perth, has made search in several parties for arms, ammunition, &c. in several parts of the country, particularly at the house of Lord Strathallan. I cannot distinguish what they have found in the different places; but, in general, some parties of the Old Buffs have brought in some arms, forty-five horses, which were sold for the benefit of the captors, and fifty-seven head of black cattle, which were ordered for the use of the army." Parties, it was said, went afterwards to

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Retreat of the Highland Army.

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the eastward of Perth, to Fife, Athol, &c. and carried off effects out of several houses.

Several persons were taken up at Perth upon suspicion. The Duchess-dowager of Perth was apprehended at Drummond castle, carried to Edinburgh by a party of dragoons, and committed to the castle there on the 11th. On the same day the Viscountess of Strathallan was committed to the same place; and, a few days before, upwards of sixty had been sent thither from Stirling castle, where some of them had lain since the month of September.

According to the best information they had at Perth on the 8th, Prince Charles lay on the 6th at Blair of Athol, with a body of his troops, not amounting, by their own account, to fifteen hundred men, though it was the greatest number they had then any where together. A countryman who had been carrying baggage for the enemy, and who returned from Dalnachardich to Dunkeld on the 9th at night, gave an account, that on the night of the 7th, about one thousand of the clans, forty gentlemen on horseback, fifty baggage-horses, together with all the prisoners carried from Falkirk, who were in a miserable condition, some wanting shoes and stockings, arrived at Dalnachardich, in their way northwards; that on the 8th their artillery, with about 80 cart-load of baggage, was carried off from Blair, and that it was given out they were marching for Ruthven in Badenoch; that in the afternoon of the same day, Lochiel and some

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Retreat of the Highland Army.

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other gentlemen marched northwards ; that very few men remained about Blair, but what belonged to Lord Lewis Gordon's regiment ; and that the Prince, and a number of gentlemen, continued at Blair on the morning of the 9th, when the countryman left it. All the men pressed out of the country about Dunkeld had by this time made their escape, and were returned home.

Of the Highland army that took the coast-road, the last left Montrose on the 8th at noon ; and it was judged their route was for Aberdeen. All to the south of that town was then clear of them. The party at Montrose consisted of about one hundred gentlemen, fifty of the life-guards, twenty hussars, and about one hundred and fifty private men. Lord Elcho was with them. Lord George Murray lodged three miles from Montrose on the 6th ; and the same day Lord Pitsligo passed by Brechin ; and most of the common men, excepting those of the clans, went that road.

On the afternoon of the 9th, the Gloucester, and another ship of Admiral Byng's squadron, came to an anchor off Montrose. Advice was sent them, that the enemy had left the town, and marched northwards to Aberdeen, except some small parties that still haunted about in the neighbourhood, particularly at Stonehaven, a fishing town sixteen miles north of Montrose. Before they left that place they spiked up all their cannon, except six ; four of which they embarked on board two boats, to be carried to Aberdeen, to fortify the bridge of

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Retreat of the Highland Army.

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Dee, where they gave out they would make a stand against the King's troops. One of the boats sailed with two of the cannon on the 8th, the day before the arrival of the two ships of war ; and the other, upon their anchoring off the port, finding it impossible to get out, relanded her two cannon upon the beach. On the night of the 11th, the first lieutenant of the Gloucester was ordered in, with two tenders manned and armed, to spike up those two guns that lay on the shore, and two more that lay at the cross, and to dismantle all the vessels that lay in the port, in such a manner as to render them incapable of going to sea : which he accordingly effected. Meantime the town was every night alarmed with the return of the enemy, and there was no certainty when the Duke's troops would march that way ; the commanders on board therefore thought it advisable, for preventing disturbances, to order Captain Gore on shore, with fifty of his marines, to take possession of the town, till his Royal Highness should send a detachment to relieve him. The Admiral likewise intended, so soon as the weather would permit, to send the Saltash sloop into the harbour, in order not only to secure a retreat to Captain Gore, if the enemy should return in numbers, but prevent any landing from the French in that harbour, if the King's ships should be blown off by bad weather, or drawn off by chance.

A body of the Highland army, amounting to upwards of two thousand, which was at Aberdeen,



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Five thousand Hessians land at Leith.

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marched thence on the 11th in three divisions, and took three different roads, all leading northwards. They had no artillery with them, the two great guns sent from Montrose not having reached Aberdeen when they went off. Their baggage was sent away on the 10th. Lord Elcho, who seemed to be indisposed, with six horsemen, went southwards, and passed at the bridge of Dee, two miles south of Aberdeen; but whither was not known. All the artillery and ammunition landed out of the Spanish ship at Peterhead, had been sent northwards. The town of Aberdeen was obliged to pay to the enemy £500.

In the afternoon of the 8th, Prince Frederick of Hesse, and the Earl of Crawford, with the Hessians, (between four and five thousand, among whom were some hussars,) arrived in Leith roads, in four days from Williamstadt. The Prince, the Earl of Crawford, and some other persons of distinction, went ashore that night, but the troops remained on board till the Duke's pleasure should be known, to whom an express was forthwith sent to Perth. The Prince lodged in Holyrood-house. His Serene Highness was saluted, on his arrival, by the ships, and by the castle of Edinburgh; persons of distinction paid him their compliments; and he was entertained, during his stay, with balls, concerts of music, assemblies, &c. In three or four days the troops were landed. Both men and horses looked well. The Duke of Cumberland made a trip from Perth to Holyrood-house on the 15th; and having

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Retreat of the Highland Army.

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concerted the military operations with the Prince of Hesse, his Royal Highness returned next day to the army.

Lord Mark Ker, who had been appointed governor of the castle of Edinburgh, came to town on the 8th, and was received at the castle with the usual formalities.

About this time St George's dragoons came to Edinburgh, and marched westward, as did, afterwards, Kingstori's horse, and parties of Mark Ker's dragoons, and of Johnson's foot.

On the 9th, Major-General Campbell came to Perth to meet the Duke, and brought with him four or five companies of Western Highlanders. But it was resolved to send his excellency back to the Western Highlands, and that his son, with six hundred Highlanders, should remain with the army, to go upon parties. As soon as the magazines of bread could be laid up, the army was to march northwards by the coast, to be more at hand to send detachments into the hills, as it was impossible for the whole body to go that way.

Certain intelligence was brought to Perth on the 10th, that the Highland troops had retired from Blair, upon the detachments under Lieutenant-Colonels Leighton and Sir Andrew Agnew taking post at Castle Menzies and Dunkeld. The Duke of Athol published a declaration, requiring his vassals to come to Dunkeld and Kirkmichael, and to join the troops sent or to be sent thither to disarm and apprehend the enemy, on pain of their

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The Duke of Cumberland marches from Perth,

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being proceeded against with the utmost severity in case of refusal. His Grace caused several suspected persons to be committed at Dunkeld; and, in a day or two, took possession of Blair, where Sir Andrew Agnew, with five hundred men, had taken post upon the retreat of the enemy thence.

By the 14th the Duke had sent three battalions of foot to Cupar of Angus, and a regiment of dragoons to Dundee. On the 20th he put the troops in motion from Perth in four divisions; each of which was to have two days halt at Montrose in their way to Aberdeen; at which place, and the neighbourhood of it, the whole were to arrive upon the 1st of March. The Scots fusileers were left at Perth under the command of Major Colvil; Sir Andrew Agnew, with five hundred men, was at Blair, and two hundred at Castle Menzies, under Captain Webster, to command Tay-bridge. It was at this time intended to order the Hessians to re-embark immediately for Flanders.

Letters from the Duke, dated the 25th at Montrose, contained the following advices:—

“ They write from Aberdeen of the 23d instant, that, on the 21st, a ship of about 150 tons burden, with French colours, came into that road about six at night, and fired two or three guns; upon which the rebels sent off a boat to her, which returned about eight, and brought ashore two officers, who, after some consultation, went on board again, and carried seven or eight boats, with an intention, as it was thought, to land their men;

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And arrives at Montrose.

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but they returned empty, and the ship went off, as is said for Peterhead, and some people went from Aberdeen to meet them there. It is said the ship had money, arms, cannon, and ammunition on board; but it seems was not to deliver up the money, but by some particular order of one Boyer, whom they call a French ambassador, and who is with the Pretender's son. That upon the 22d, about five afternoon, another ship came round from Stonehaven, of about 100 tons burden, of no force, and anchored in the road of Aberdeen, and between eight and ten at night landed about one hundred and thirty men, including five officers. They were clothed in red turned up with blue. They also landed a parcel of saddles, and some horse furniture, and horsemen's arms and breast-plates. Many of them are English and Irish. They carried nine or ten cart and twenty pack loads of baggage with them. Upon the 23d they marched from Aberdeen, as did all the other rebels that were then there, partly by Old Meldrum, which is twelve miles distant, and partly by Newburgh, which is the road to Peterhead. Those that marched from Aberdeen last, were commanded by Moir of Stonywood, being about one hundred, including parties they were to get in, and about fifty horse, whom they call hussars, under one Colonel Baggot, a Frenchman. Those who landed from the French ship report, that there sailed five ships in all from Dunkirk, and that the other three ships were larger, and con-

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Retreat of the Highland Army.

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tained more men, and could not be far from the Scotch coast."

Lord George Murray, with those under his command, marched from Elgin on the 18th and 19th of February. Lord Ogilvie's men, and some others, being about four hundred and fifty, marched from Aberdeen on the 18th, and on the 17th the men from Cromar and Braemar, said to be about two hundred and fifty, marched from Cromar. The Strathbogie foot marched also by Clat to Strathbogie the highway. The number of them was not certainly known, but said to be about two hundred and fifty.

They also raised some men at that time in Buchan and Banffshire, in their way north.

Lord Loudon exerted himself on the part of the government, and had got together two thousand men at Inverness by the 11th, and was fortifying that town with a ditch, placing ship cannon at proper places, and laying in provisions. His Lordship was daily expecting more men from the Earl of Sutherland, Lord Fortrose, Lord Rea, the Monroes, and Sir Alexander Macdonald. The Lord President had taken up his quarters at Fort George. One of the King's ships was then lying off Inverness.

On Sunday the 16th, the main body of the Highland army were within fourteen miles of Inverness, and had an advanced party as far as the water of Nairn, four miles south of Inverness, where Lord Loudon's advanced party from Inverness met them,

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Prince Charles takes Fort George.

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and a small skirmish happened, but of no consequence. On Monday Lord Loudon's people retired to Inverness, and that day the enemy advanced within two miles of the town. Thereupon Lord Loudon finding himself unable to defend the place with the numbers that remained with him, threw two of the independent companies into the castle, with a sufficient quantity of provisions; and having put on shipboard what arms and ammunition could be spared, on Tuesday at twelve marched out of Inverness, and crossed the ferry at Kessack, without the loss of a man, though the enemy were in possession of one end of the town before he left the other. From thence he crossed into Cromarty, in order to have it in his power to cross the Frith of Murray, and join the Duke in case his army had been so far advanced; but the enemy approaching, obliged him to cross at Tyne, in order to put himself behind the river in a defensible post. Lord Loudon and the Lord President were at Balnagown on the 22d, waiting the Duke's orders.—Fort George, the castle of Inverness, in which there was a company of Grants under Rothemurchus, a company of Macleods, and eighty regular troops, surrendered to the Highlanders on the 20th. Here they got sixteen cannon, with ammunition, one hundred barrels of beef, and other provisions, Hence they sent a detachment with two of the largest cannon towards Fort Augustus.

Upon these advices, and the possibility that Prince Charles might attempt to slip again into

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The Hessians ordered to Perth.

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the Lowlands, as also the different accounts received of troops coming from France, of which one transport was actually disembarked, and five of them in all expected, the Duke countermanded the re-embarkation of the Hessians, and ordered the transports to proceed immediately to Shields, to take on board the Dutch troops, and to sail with a sufficient convoy to Williamstadt, and, after having landed the said troops, to return to Leith. His Royal Highness also wrote to Prince Frederick of Hesse, to march immediately four battalions to Perth, and two to Stirling. St George's dragoons to be cantoned at Earn bridge; and the remains of Ligonier's and Hamilton's dragoons to be cantoned at Bannockburn, near Stirling. With this cavalry, which was put under the command of the Earl of Crawford, the Prince of Hesse had a sufficient corps to deal with the enemy, should they attempt to avoid the Duke by going south, or to attack the posts at Blair, Castle Menzies, &c. and Bligh's battalion was to hold itself in readiness to march.

Pursuant to a sentence of a general court-martial, Captain Koningam (who had the command of the train at the battle of Falkirk), was brought to the head of the artillery, at Montrose, on the 24th, where his sword was broke over his head, his sash thrown on the ground, and himself ordered to quit the army, for cowardice and misbehaviour in the action.

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The Royal Army occupies Aberdeen.

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The first division of the King's army reached Aberdeen on the 25th, and the rest of the army in a day or two after. Here the commander in chief was waited upon by the noblemen and gentlemen in the neighbourhood. Mr Grant of Grant junior offered to bring out six hundred of his people armed as soon as the army was ready to march. The day after his Royal Highness came to Aberdeen, he detached Lord Ancram with one hundred dragoons, and Major Morris with three hundred foot under his command, to the castle of Corgarf, at the head of the river Don, forty miles from Aberdeen, and in the heart of the country attached to Prince Charles, in order to get possession of a quantity of Spanish arms and powder which were lodged there. His Lordship took them without resistance, the Highlanders having quitted the castle upon his approach; but as they had driven away the horses of the country, he was forced to destroy most of the arms, and thirty barrels of powder.

On the 22d, four companies of the Argyllshire militia arrived at Dumbarton, in their way to Inverary, and were to be followed next day by General Campbell, with four companies more, in order to prevent the enemy penetrating into that shire, or their being joined by any of the disaffected in those parts.—A letter from Fort William said, that on the 15th, George Macfarlan of Glenraloch, a lieutenant of the Argyllshire militia, was in the presence of many spectators, shot dead within a



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The Hessians arrive at Perth.

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gunshot of that fort, by three of the enemy; that a party pursued them three miles without coming up with them; but that, in their return, they burnt the house of one of the murderers.

About the beginning of March, the Hessian troops, with their artillery, &c. moved from the neighbourhood of Edinburgh for Perth. Their route was by Stirling. The Prince, the Earl of Crawford, &c. left Holyrood-house on the 5th, and were that night at Hopeton-house. By the 10th, they had their head-quarters, with the greatest body of their troops, at Perth. Thence his Serene Highness took a tour northward, by Dunkeld, Taymouth, &c. to reconnoitre, and returned to Perth on the 15th. Naizon's and Hamilton's dragoons marched about the middle of the month, by the same route the Hessians had taken.

Pursuant to an order from the Duke the Hessian transports, about thirty-four in number, sailed from Leith road on the 2d, for Shields, with their convoy, the Gibraltar, Sheerness, and a bomb-vessel. They took on board the Dutch troops, and arrived with them in Holland about the end of the month.

On the 5th Bligh's regiment embarked at Leith, and sailed next day for Aberdeen. They were several times put back by contrary winds, and did not reach the destined port till the 25th. Two days before, three hundred men belonging to different regiments had arrived at Aberdeen by land.

According to letters of the 9th, from Aberdeen, the enemy still pretended they would defend the

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The Duke of Gordon joins the Royal Army.

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passage of the Spey. Lord John Drummond, who was chief of those in that part of the country, with the remains of his regiment, and a few French horse lately landed, was at Gordon castle. Their Low-country people, whom they said amounted to three thousand, were at Elgin, Fochabers, and other places on both sides the Spey. They were intrenching themselves, and preparing herissons and crow-feet to spoil the fords; and they gave out that the clans were coming behind them.

Meantime the disposition and cantonment of the King's army were so contiguous, that there was no reason to apprehend any surprise. The whole of the infantry was within the towns of Old and New Aberdeen; and as soon as a great storm of snow, which fell on the night of the 8th, was a little off, it was proposed to march. Three King's ships were cruizing in the narrow Frith of Murray, which it was hoped would effectually prevent any attempt that might be made by the French of assisting Prince Charles at Inverness.

The Duke of Gordon arrived at the head-quarters at Aberdeen on the evening of the 9th, from his own house, which he had left the day before on foot, and in the most secret manner he could, the Highlanders who lived upon his estate having constantly watched his Grace ever since they had been there.

At Forfar, where each of the four divisions of the King's army lay a night, three French officers were concealed during the whole time; and after all the troops were passed through, they were

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Siege of Fort William.

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permitted to beat up for volunteers there. Upon information that some of the Highland army, and amongst others, Roy Stewart, were concealed in Aberdeen, the Duke ordered search to be made for them; but they were not found. A design was formed at Montrose, for the country people to come down and rescue the Highland prisoners; but Kingston's horse being there, prevented the affair. The prisoners were thereupon ordered under a guard to Stirling. And upon Bligh's regiment being embarked at Leith for Aberdeen, some persons formed a design to rise up and break the prison-doors at Edinburgh; whereupon Lee's regiment was ordered to march thither from Berwick. The truth of this was doubted at Edinburgh.

About the beginning of March an order was published by the Duke, and read from the pulpits, commanding all those who had been pressed into the service of Prince Charles, forthwith to deliver up their arms; and promising to recommend to the royal mercy such as should comply.

In the west early precautions were taken for the security of Fort William. General Campbell threw into it upwards of three hundred Argyllshire-men, with a good engineer; and ordered the *Serpent* and *Baltimore* sloops to that station. Fifty men of Guise's regiment, who had been gathered together at Edinburgh under the command of a captain-lieutenant, and some other troops, were likewise ordered thither. These pre-

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Siege of Fort William.

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cautions soon came to be of use, Brigadier Stapleton having been dispatched by Prince Charles to besiege the fort. He had with him a large body of the best of the troops, and a pretty good train of artillery, and arrived at Glenevis in the neighbourhood of the fortress on the 3d of March. The Duke received the following accounts, dated the 4th, at Fort William. "We have advice here, that a party of the rebels, amounting to one thousand men, is at Glenevis, within two miles of us; and that their train of artillery is to be to-morrow at Highbridge, which is six miles from this fort. We heard of their taking of Fort Augustus, and expect to be attacked; but Governor Campbell is determined to defend the place to the utmost of his power. For some days past there have been some small parties of rebels posted on each side the narrows of Carron; in which on Saturday last they took one of the boats belonging to the Baltimore sloop, as she was coming from Scallestal bay, and sent the crew prisoners to their head-quarters. As soon as we had intelligence of this accident, a council was called, consisting of land and sea officers, and a resolution taken to send a strong party to dislodge the rebels. In consequence thereof, early that morning Captain Askew of the Serpent sloop sent his boat with twenty-seven men in it, another boat of the Baltimore's with twenty-four men, and a boat belonging to Fort William with twenty, down the narrows, where they all arrived by day-light. Captain Askew's

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Siege of Fort William.

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men landed first, and were immediately attacked by a party of eighty rebels, who fired upon them, without doing any damage; and upon the rest of the men belonging to the boats coming up, the rebels fled. Our people pursued them, burnt the ferry houses on both sides of the water, and a little town with about twelve houses in it, a quarter of a mile distant from the ferry-house on the north side, and destroyed or brought off all their boats. Two of the rebels were killed in this affair, and several wounded. It was very lucky that our boats went down as they did; for there was a boat with a party of militia in it, that was coming hither from Stalker castle, which would probably have fallen into the hands of the rebels, but for the skirmish before mentioned." Captain Frederick Scott came from Dunstaffnage to Ellanstalker castle on the 6th; but could not get any farther, the besiegers having guarded both sides of the narrows of Carron for two miles on that side Fort William.

General Campbell having got notice at Inverary, that the besiegers had taken the Baltimore's boat, and hearing that they had likewise possessed themselves of the pass of Ardgour, so that nothing could pass to or from Fort William, his Excellency caused put four swivel guns, with ammunition, &c. on board the Victory wherry, with an officer and sixteen men, and a like number on board the Hope-well sloop, and sent them round. They sailed accordingly on the 8th.

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Siege of Fort William.

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As the enemy could not cut off the communication by sea, the garrison was plentifully supplied with provisions from Inverary. The siege was however continued till the 3d of April, and then raised. An officer in the fort gives the following journal of it:—

March 14, Brigadier Stapleton continuing in the neighbourhood of Fort William, and the garrison at last perceiving that they were to undergo a siege, began to heighten the parapets of their walls on the side where they apprehended the attack would be made. This work lasted a whole week, and the two faces of the bastions were raised seven feet high.

15th, A detachment of the garrison, with some men belonging to the sloops of war before mentioned, went in armed boats to attempt the destroying of Kilmady Barns, commonly called the Corpoch. Stapleton having notice of their motions, and suspecting their intention, sent out a strong party to frustrate it; however the falling of the tide contributed as much as any thing to the miscarriage of this scheme. Some firing indeed passed on both sides, but little damage was done on either. On the side of the garrison a sailor was killed, and three men were wounded: The besiegers had five men wounded, four of them mortally.

18th, The Baltimore went up towards Kilmady Barns, in order to cover the landing of some men for a fresh attempt upon the place. She threw some cohorn shells and set one hovel on fire; but

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Siege of Fort William.

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the King's party were nevertheless prevented from landing, the Highlanders firing upon them with great advantage from behind the natural intrenchments of a hollow road or rill. The Baltimore's guns being only four-pounders, had no effect upon the stone walls of the Corpoch; however, the sloop and the King's forces retired without any damage. On the side of the enemy, one of the principal engineers was killed, but no other hurt. This day three centinels and a drummer of Guise's regiment, who had been taken at Fort Augustus, made their escape from the Highlanders, and got safe into Fort William.

On the 20th, several parties of the garrison being appointed to protect their turf-diggers, frequent skirmishes happened between these and Stapleton's people; but as both parties skulked behind crags and rocks so neither received any damage.

The same evening the Highlanders opened the siege, discharging at the fort seventeen royals, or small bombs, of five inches and a half diameter, weighing about sixteen and eighteen pounds each, and loaded with fourteen ounces of powder; these were played off from a battery erected on a small hill, named the Sugar-loaf, about eight hundred yards off, which being at too great distance, the ordnance did little execution, the greatest part falling short. On the other hand, the garrison answered the besiegers with eight bombs of eighteen inches diameter, six cohorns, one twelve-pounder, and two swivels.

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Siege of Fort William.

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21st, General Stapleton finding that his batteries were too far off, erected a new one at the foot of the Cow-hill, about four hundred yards off, from which, between twelve and four in the morning, he discharged eighty-four royals, which did little damage except penetrating through the roofs of several houses, and slightly wounding three men. The garrison this day answered the besiegers with twenty bombs, nine cohorns, thirty six-pounders, and two swivels.

22d, The besiegers opened their battery of cannon from Sugar-loaf hill, consisting only of three guns six and four pounders, but discharged only seven times, and that without doing any damage. About 12 o'clock the same day General Stapleton sent a French drum to the fort, upon whose approach, and beating a parley, Captain Scott, commander of the garrison, asked him what he came about? The drummer answered, that General Stapleton, who commanded the siege by directions from Prince Charles, had sent a letter to the commanding officer of the garrison, requiring him to surrender. To this Captain Scott replied, "I will receive no letters from rebels, and am determined to defend the fort to the last extremity." The drummer returning to Stapleton with this answer, a close bombarding ensued on both sides for some hours; but at last the garrison silenced the besiegers, by beating down their principal battery. However, about ten that night they opened another bomb battery near the bottom of the Cow-hill, about three hundred yards



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Siege of Fort William.

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off, from which, and from their battery upon Sugar-loaf-hill, they discharged, before three in the morning, one hundred and ninety-four of their royals, and six cannon against the fort; but all this without doing any other mischief than the demolition of the roofs of a few houses. The garrison did not return them one shell, but kept all their men within doors, except the piquet, to stand by the fire engine; the governor and most of the officers being upon the ramparts.

23d, As soon as day-light appeared, the garrison fired twenty-three bombs, two cohorns, two twelve-pounders, seven six-pounders, and six swivels, at the besiegers batteries, some of which tore up their platforms. The Highlanders, in return, fired as briskly as they were able upon the fort, but did the besieged no other damage than the shooting off the leg of a private soldier.

The same day, about three in the afternoon, some vessels appeared with supplies for the besieged, who on sight of the ships, all at once discharged eight twelve-pounders, two six-pounders, two bombs, and several cohorns against the besiegers batteries, which were so well levelled as to do great execution, and occasioned much confusion among the enemy, who, besides the damage done their batteries, had several men killed, and many wounded; however, to cheer the men the officers gave out that they would certainly burn the fort within four hours after their next battery was erected; and accordingly all this evening the people were employed

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Siege of Fort William.

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in erecting another work or battery, under cover of their cannon, and at the distance of three hundred yards, at the foot of the Cow-hill.

24th, Neither party fired much, and the garrison employed most part of the day in getting their supplies of provisions on shore.

25th, At day-break, Captain Scott sent out a party to a place about six miles off to bring in some cattle. The besiegers fired very briskly this morning, and the garrison plied them a little with their mortars and guns. About three in the afternoon the aforementioned party returned with nineteen good bullocks and cows. The same evening another detachment went from the fort for another prize of bullocks, with orders to pass the narrows of Carron, and to get off all they could from the adjacent estates of the besiegers.

26th, The garrison fired slowly at the enemy's batteries on the hills; and as the latter now only fired from two, the former perceived that they had dismounted the third. In the afternoon the last mentioned party returned with a booty of black cattle and sheep, from the country near Ardshields: they also brought in four prisoners, one of whom was dangerously wounded; they had likewise burned two villages belonging to one of the chiefs of the Highlanders, with the whole estate of the unfortunate Appin.

The same night Captain Scott went out and dammed up some drains near the walls of the fort, in hopes of rainy weather, to make a small inunda-

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Siege of Fort William.

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tion; and with some prisoners raised the glacis, or rather parapet, to seven feet. For want of palisades the garrison could not make a right covered-way; but then this might serve to hinder the besiegers from seeing the foot of their walls.

27th, At day-break the Highlanders opened their new battery of four embrasures, but only with three guns six-pounders, with which, however, they fired very briskly; but the garrison plying them with their mortars and guns, silenced one of the besiegers guns before eight in the morning; about nine the magazine battery of the besiegers was set on fire, and it blew up. This day the garrison received no other damage than the wounding of two men and the governor's horse in the stable. The enemy had three men killed, and nine dangerously wounded.

31st, Captain Scott ordered twelve men from each company to march out to the Craigs, about one hundred yards from the walls, where the besiegers had a battery, which after some dispute, and the loss of a serjeant of the Argyllshire Highlanders, the men from the garrison made themselves masters of. The victors brought off from this battery three brass field pieces, four-pounders, and two cohorns, from which the besiegers threw their shells, also another brass cannon a six-pounder, which being too heavy to draw in, they spiked and left under the wall, whence they afterwards dismounted it by cannon shot. The other large cannon and mortars on that battery they likewise spiked

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Siege of Fort William raised.

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and left there, and brought away two prisoners. The enemy, however, still continued with five cannon they had yet mounted, to give the garrison all the disturbance in their power, and destroy the roofs of most of the houses ; but they did not mind that, the men being safe.

April 3d, The Highlanders received orders from Prince Charles to quit the siege immediately, and to join him at Inverness with all possible speed. Hereupon General Stapleton retired from the place with the utmost precipitation, and repaired to Inverness.

As soon as Captain Scott perceived they had turned their backs on the fort, he detached a party which secured eight pieces of cannon and seven mortars, the Highlanders not having time to carry off such cumbersome moveables.

All this while, General Campbell was very busy at Inverary, in preparing to oppose the enemy in case they should move that way. About the beginning of March, all the men in Argyllshire able to bear arms, were ordered to assemble at that place, and two additional companies of the Scots fusileers which lay at Dumbarton, were likewise ordered thither ; by the middle of the month, there were one thousand five hundred men there, and three hundred more expected in a few days ; and about the end of the month, Maclean of Brolus had joined with a company of his clan, and the general had put the place in a good posture

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Fort Augustus surrenders to the Highlanders.

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of defence, having ordered twelve pieces of cannon thither from Greenock.

During the siege of Fort William, twenty-six villages in Morven and places adjacent, possessed chiefly by the Camerons, were burnt by a party sent ashore from the sloops of war on the west coast. This produced a manifesto by Lochiel and Keppoch, in which they exclaimed against the Campbells, for burning houses and corn, killing horses, houghing cattle, stripping women and children, and exposing them to the severity of the weather in the open fields; threatened to make reprisals, if they could procure leave from their Prince, by entering Argyllshire, and acting there at discretion, and by putting a Campbell to death (of whom several had lately been made prisoners in Athol) for every house that should afterwards be burnt by that clan; they extolled their own lenity and moderation, notwithstanding the aspersions industriously spread to the contrary; and insinuated, that those who gave orders for the burning, could not answer for it to the British Parliament.

With regard to affairs in the inland parts of the country, the Duke had received certain intelligence at Aberdeen, by the 14th, that Fort Augustus had fallen into the hands of the enemy; and that the garrison, under Major Wentworth, consisting of three companies of Guise's regiment, (one hundred and forty men,) were made prisoners of war, having defended themselves two days, when their powder

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Lord G. Murray surprises some detachments near Blair.

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magazine taking fire, they were obliged to surrender. Prince Charles was joined at Inverness by a few of the Mackenzies, headed by the Lady Seaforth. The Lord of that name, however, and the Laird of Macintosh, were both with Lord Loudon; but the wife of this last was likewise in the Prince's army.

The party of the Highland army then nearest to Blair was at Dalnaspedal, twelve miles to the north of it; from whence to Inverness they were in possession of the whole country, and guarded the passes so strictly, that there was no getting any certain intelligence about them. Sir Andrew Agnew, with his five hundred men, continued at Blair; and the Duke of Athol had sent a party to Mar, and retaken the young Laird of Invercauld, who was at his father's house upon parole, having been made prisoner at Preston. Besides the garrisons of regular forces at Blair and Castle Menzies, there were about two hundred Argyllshire Highlanders in different parties; one at the foot of Rannoch, under the command of Glenure; others at Blairfetty, three miles west of Blair. At two in the morning of the 17th, these out-parties were all surprised by the enemy, about half a dozen killed, and the rest taken prisoners, except a few that escaped. This corps consisted of Macphersons, Macintoshes, and some Atholmen, in all about seven hundred, under the command of Lord George Murray. They marched from Ruthven only on the 16th. At Dalnaspedal, small parties

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Lays siege to Blair Castle.

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were detached to the three places above mentioned, and Lord George with the main body marched directly for Blair. He arrived at this place, and the three detachments at those to which they were respectively ordered, all about the same time, so as none of the Argyllshire parties could warn another of their danger. In the evening, two of their cannon, four-pounders, arrived at Blair; with which they began to play on the morning of the 18th; but did little hurt, other than damaging some parts of the roof. Sir Andrew Agnew, with his men, were blockaded in the castle; and guards were posted by the enemy at both ends of the pass of Killicranky, and at all other places and avenues leading to Blair.

A letter from Athol gave the following account of the siege:—

“The rebels, by marching all night concealed their design so well, that they were within two miles of Blair before the garrison had any notice of their being nearer than Badenoch. How soon they got intelligence, they with great alertness carried their sick from one of the office-houses near the castle, and took in their horses, with what forage and fuel was at hand. Afterwards Sir Andrew Agnew drew up his men before the castle, and kept them under arms for some hours, offering the rebels battle. But they were too wise to attack the Lieut.-Colonel of the Scots fusileers, whose bravery they were no strangers to. When Sir Andrew perceived that they kept themselves

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Retires on the approach of the Hessians.

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behind park-dikes, he drew his men into the castle, and made proper dispositions for standing a siege. All Monday the 17th of March, being the first day of the siege, there was little firing. The rebels paraded round the castle at a great distance, endeavouring to make their numbers appear as great as possible. Early on Tuesday morning they began to play upon the castle with two pieces of cannon, a four-pounder and a three-pounder. But observing that no impression was made upon the wall, they pointed their cannon at the roof, and did a good deal of damage, especially after they began to throw red-hot bullets, of which they threw a great many: but such was the alertness of the garrison, that their carpenters were ready to cut out the bullets wherever they stuck, and to throw them out, or cool them in water. The rebels after having thrown two hundred and seven cannon bullets, of which one hundred and eighty-five were red-hot, and done a good deal of damage to the roof and wainscotting, sent off their cannon to Dalnachardich, so as not to retard them in case of a retreat; which they began to think of in good earnest when the Hessians approached. The Earl of Crawford at the head of the dragoons, and a detachment of the Hessians, having advanced to Pitlochrie on Tuesday the 1st of April, the rebels quartered there formed to give them battle. Lord Crawford formed on the other side. On this the rebels retired, with design, as they gave out, to decoy the troops into the pass of Killicranky.



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Retires to Badenoch.

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But missing their aim in this, and dreading lest Lord Crawford should steal a march upon them through the hills above Moulin, hearing likewise that there was a detachment marching from Tay-bridge by Kynichan; therefore, for fear of being inclosed, they decamped on Tuesday night, and marched off with great precipitation for Badenoch, after having almost ruined the poor country they pretended to deliver, eating up the little meal that was left by the many parties who travelled through it that year. After Sir Andrew Agnew had been a week shut up, he found means to send off two men from the castle; who, about twelve at night, made their way through the rebel guards, and reached Perth next day before two o'clock in the afternoon, after having fetched a terrible compass round the hills."

The Highlanders were highly enraged against the King's troops, because some of their houses in Athol had been plundered; and several of the country people, that had been formerly forced into the service of the Prince, and were returned home, joined Lord George upon his coming among them at that time. Besides, the fiery cross\* was order-

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\* When a chieftain designed to summon his clan, upon any sudden emergency, he slew a goat, and making a cross of light wood, scared its extremities in the fire, and extinguished them in the blood of the animal. This was called *The Fiery Cross*, also *Crian Tarigh*, or *the Cross of Shame*, because disobedience to what the symbol implied, inferred infamy. It was delivered

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Mode by which the Highland Army was recruited.

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ed through all places where they went, by which every man betwixt sixteen and sixty years of age was required to appear, on pain of the severest military execution. It was certain that there were parties of them at Dunkeld and Invar, and some said at Nairn house, which is but five miles from Perth. They were at that time in several large

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to a swift and trusty messenger, who ran full speed with it to the next hamlet, when he presented it to the principal person with a single word, implying the place of rendezvous. He who received the symbol was bound to send it forwards, with equal dispatch to the next village; and thus it passed with incredible celerity through all the district which owed allegiance to the chief, and also among his allies, if the danger was common to them. At sight of the fiery cross, every man, from sixteen years old to sixty, capable of bearing arms, was obliged instantly to repair in his best arms and accoutrements to the place of rendezvous. He who failed to appear, suffered the extremities of fire and sword, which were emblematically denounced to the disobedient, by the bloody and burnt marks upon this warlike signal.

During this period, the fiery cross often made its circuit, and upon one occasion it passed through the whole district of Braidalbin, a tract of thirty-two miles, in three hours. The late Alexander Stuart, Esq. of Invernahyle, described his having sent round the fiery cross through Appin during the same commotion. The coast was threatened by a descent from two English frigates, and the flower of the young men were with the army of Prince Charles Edward, then in England; yet the summons was so effectual, that even old age and childhood obeyed it; and a force was collected in a few hours, that all attempt at the intended diversion upon the country of the absent warriors was in prudence abandoned as desperate.

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Disposition of the Highland Army.

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bodies and smaller parties from the west to the east seas; about fifteen hundred at Fort William, Camerons, Macdonalds, Appin Stuarts, and some French; much the same number after Lord Loudon to Ross-shire; the Gordons and Lowlanders upon the Spey; and the Macphersons, some of the Macintoshes, and Atholmen, in Athol; so that though there were scarce two thousand in any one place, yet they could all join in three days.

Being still incommoded by Lord Loudon, who lay with only the Frith of Murray between them, Prince Charles ordered the Duke of Perth, the Earl of Cromartie, and some other chiefs, to attempt the surprising of Loudon, by the help of boats, which they drew together on their side of the Frith. By favour of a fog they executed their scheme so effectually, that falling unexpectedly upon the Earl's forces, they cut some off, made a good many officers prisoners, and forced Loudon to retire with the rest out of the county of Sutherland.

Major-General Bland marched from Aberdeen on the 12th to Inverury and Old Meldrum, one march towards the Spey, with the battalion of the Royal Scots, Barrel's, Price's, and Cholmondeley's, Cobham's dragoons, and Kingston's horse, having the Campbells before him, with the Laird of Grant and one hundred of his followers.

The Duke having received intelligence on the 16th, that Colonel Roy Stuart was at Strathbogie, with about one thousand foot and sixty hussars, sent Colonel Conway with orders to Major-General

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Colonel Roy Stuart surprised at Strathbogie.

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Bland to attempt to surprise him, and if he should not succeed in that, to attack him; and his Royal Highness ordered Brigadier Mordaunt, with four battalions (the Scots fusileers, Brag's, Monro's, and Battereau's) and four pieces of cannon, to march by break of day next morning to Old Meldrum, in order to sustain Major-General Bland, if there should be occasion. Accordingly the Major-General marched on the 17th towards Strathbogie, and was almost within sight of the place when Colonel Stuart had the first notice of his approach. Upon which he abandoned the town, and fled with the utmost precipitation towards Keith. General Bland's vanguard pushed their rear a good way beyond the river Deveron: but as the night was coming on, and the evening was wet and hazy, his Excellency ordered the troops to quit the pursuit. Notwithstanding which, the volunteers, viz. the Marquis of Granby, Colonel Conway, Captain Haldane, and several others, continued to pursue the enemy at least two miles; whose panic was so great, that it was concluded they would not halt long in a place till they had passed the Spey. In this they were mistaken, for a Captain of Argyllshire men, whom General Bland detached with seventy Campbells, and thirty of Kingston's horse to Keith from Strathbogie, was surprised on the night of the 20th, and lost his whole party, except a cornet, five men and two horses of Kingston's, and one Highlander, who made their escape. The enemy (about four hundred) marched from Fochabers

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Disposition of the Royal Army.

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in the night, surrounded Keith, and entered at both ends. As the Campbells lay in the church, and defended the church-yard for above half an hour, during which there was very brisk firing, it was not doubted but the enemy paid dear for this advantage. Captain Campbell, a sergeant, and five private men of the King's troops were killed.

By the 26th, the King's army was divided in three cantonments; the whole first line, consisting of six battalions, Kingston's horse and Cobham's dragoons, under the command of Lord Albemarle and Major-General Bland, at Strathbogie, within twelve miles of the Spey; the reserve, consisting of three battalions, with four pieces of cannon, under the command of Brigadier Mordaunt, at Old Meldrum, half way between Strathbogie and Aberdeen; and the whole second line, consisting of the six remaining battalions, (Bligh's having been then arrived) and Mark Ker's dragoons at Aberdeen. About this time, the advanced parties of the Highland army and of the corps at Strathbogie were within a mile of each other every night; their scouts and reconnoitring parties exchanged some shots.

According to letters from Aberdeen, of the 26th, certain intelligence was received, that the Earl of Airly, father of Lord Ogilvy, was raising his men to join Prince Charles; and orders had been sent him by the Duke, to desist from such treasonable practices. This, however, his Lordship did not comply with; and therefore Captain Hewett, with

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The Royal Troops ravage Glenesk.

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one hundred recovered men who were coming up to the army, were sent to take possession of his house, and to make him prisoner in it, until his people should bring in their arms, and behave as good subjects : which had some effect, as a number thereupon brought in their arms. The Earl soon after went to Edinburgh. His Royal Highness also ordered Major La Fausille, with three hundred men to go to Glenesk, to attack all whom he found in arms against the government, and to burn the habitations of such as had left them, and were with the enemy. David Ferrier, an old smuggler, had, with a small party of Highlanders, taken up his quarters in Glenesk, and had sent down parties almost to the very ports of Brechin, and carried off men, horses, arms, &c. and had raised two hundred men in Glenesk and Glenprosen. The detachment under Major La Fausille put a stop to these exactions, and he executed his commission to the very letter; he made a trip to Edzell, burnt the meeting-house of Lethnet, and laid two or three of the richest Jacobites under a small contribution. He next paid Lord Airly a visit, traversed Glenprosen and Clova, and there took some greater freedoms; he also burnt or destroyed all the meeting-houses wherever he came; and it even cost some pains to save Glenesk from being burnt from end to end.

The Highland army was in great distress for money and other necessaries, and waited impatiently for a supply from France, which they hoped (notwithstanding the miscarriage of so many vessels

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Capture of the Hazard Sloop.

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that had been fitted out for Scotland) would soon arrive on board the Hazard sloop, which they had named the Prince Charles snow, and which they had intelligence was at sea, with a considerable quantity of treasure from France, and a number of experienced officers and engineers, who were very much wanted.

She had been driven ashore at Ostend by two English privateers, and was thought to be destroyed; but being afterwards repaired, she sailed; and, being an excellent sailer, escaped the vigilance and pursuit of six or seven English ships that were cruising off that port to watch her. On the 24th of March, she was descried by four English ships at anchor off Troop-head. On sight of them she bore away. Thereupon the Sheerness, Captain O'Brian, cut, gave her chase quite through Pentland Frith, about fifty leagues, kept a running fight for two hours, and at last run her aground in Tongue bay. Here they landed their men late in the evening of the 25th, and came to a gentleman's opposite to Tongue. Lord Rea's militia, and about one hundred men of Lord Loudon's regiment, with the Captains, Alexander Mackay, Sir Henry Monro, young Macleod, and Lord Charles Gordon, two subalterns, and the surgeon, all left by Lord Loudon in Sutherland when he went to Sky, were at this time not far from Tongue. Lord Rea, on notice of the landing of the men, sent a boat with proper persons to get intelligence of their numbers, &c. On whose return, it was concerted

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Capture of the Hazard Sloop.

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by his Lordship and the officers, immediately to convene as many of the men as lay nearest, and to run expresses to such as were at a greater distance, with orders to join them with all expedition. About fifty of Lord Loudon's men, and the like number of Rea's, marched by break of day, and in two hours came up with the French, who had forced a guide to lead them off in the night. The French drew up, and being attacked made several fires; but the Highlanders, after discharging their firelocks, attacked them sword-in-hand. Thereupon the French, having five or six men killed, and as many more wounded, and seeing Captain George Mackay coming up with a reinforcement of fresh men, surrendered. They were carried prisoners to Tongue, and the same night put on board the Sheerness. One Highlander was wounded. There were in whole of the French, twenty officers, and one hundred and twenty soldiers and sailors; of whom upwards of thirty were killed and a good many wounded by the Sheerness, before they landed. A good deal of arms and ammunition, with £13,000 Sterling, all English gold, except one thousand French guineas, was found on board. The officers taken were: Colonel Brown. Of Berwick's regiment, Captains Macmahon and Rogers; Lieutenants Edward and William Barnavals, Nugent, and Maurice. Of Hainault, Captain Macmahon. Of Claire's, Lieutenants O'Brian, Birmingham, and Osborn. Of the Royal Scots in France, Lieutenants Barnaval and Weyard. Of the French gens-



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Capture of the Hazard Sloop, &c.

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d'armes, M. Shabillard. In the Spanish service, Captain Gould, Lieutenant Hynd. Of the Irish grenadiers in the Spanish service, Captains Macpherson, Sinclair, and Hay. A Spanish engineer M. Faro. And M. Salbold, Captain of the Hazard.

Intelligence was received by Lord Rea on the 29th, from Andrew Ross, sheriff-depute of Orkney, that Captain Sinclair had laid an embargo on twelve merchant ships in Stromness harbour, and designed, with the assistance of a party then at Kirkwall, under the command of Lord Macleod, son of the Earl of Cromartie, to secure them for the use of Prince Charles. Lord Rea immediately sent notice to the Sheerness, which thereupon sailed directly, relieved the merchant ships, and seized Sinclair's, but he himself made his escape. Captain O'Brian found a good deal of small arms, broad-swords, ammunition, and several treasonable letters on board.

Lord Rea having been threatened by letters from the Earl of Cromartie with fire and sword, unless his men would submit, and deliver up their arms, went soon after this to Edinburgh, with his family, as did Lord Loudon's men to Aberdeen, both by sea. Captain O'Brian then sailed for the Frith of Forth, and sent the two prizes, the Hazard, and Sinclair's ship, to Leith road. The prisoners were carried to Berwick.

While the royal army lay at Aberdeen, some of the soldiers discovered an inclination to use the same freedoms there that had been taken in Perth.

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*Some Officers disgraced for Plundering.*

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shire, and some detached parties actually pillaged James Gordon of Cowbairdie's house (who was with Prince Charles); but his lady having, by Lord Forbes, her father, petitioned the Duke, his Royal Highness thereupon ordered a strict inquiry to be made into the matter, and one hundred guineas to be given the lady for her losses; declaring, that there never was an order for taking any effects belonging to the rebels, other than their cattle and forage, for that the rest was to be left to the law. Some officers were likewise criminal. Lieutenant Fawlie, of Fleming's regiment, was broke at Montrose, on the 24th of February, for disobedience of orders, forfeiture of his word of honour, and prevarication before a court-martial held on him in consequence of his plundering the house of Mr Oliphant of Gask, who was with the Prince. This was one of the gentlemen who had some of their household goods, &c. auctioned at Perth. And Ensign Daniel Hart, of late Sir Robert Monro's regiment, for extorting six guineas from the wife of Francis Ross, merchant in Aberdeen, upon his promising to protect her house and shop, was cashiered, and rendered incapable of ever serving in any capacity under his Majesty. Two soldiers of Fleming's regiment were hanged for plundering several houses in the neighbourhood; and a spy was likewise executed. The Highlanders did the same to a man for carrying letters to some friends of the government.

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The Royal Army prepares to March from Aberdeen.

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The freeholders of the shire of Mid-Lothian, at a general meeting held on the 14th, resolved that they should pay up their full cess, without asking deduction of what they had been obliged to pay to Prince Charles. On the 27th four surgeons, who had attended the Highland army in its expedition to England, and had been prisoners some time in Edinburgh castle, were sent under a guard for London; and on the 1st of April, several prisoners taken up on suspicion at Perth, were brought to Edinburgh, some gentlemen in a coach, the rest on foot, and committed to the castle; but they were brought down the same day to the city-prison.

The King's army, remained at Aberdeen and its neighbourhood till the end of March, when the severity of the weather having somewhat abated, the Duke of Cumberland got every thing in readiness to march north; and it was expected the Spey would be fordable in a few days if the dry weather continued. Two officers were sent forward to reconnoitre it. Major La Fausille, having disarmed all the enemy in Clova and Glenesk, was expected at head-quarters in three or four days, with near five hundred recovered men. His Royal Highness constructed a fort at Aberdeen, in which he intended to leave, under the command of Captain Crosby of the Scots fusileers, a proper force for securing that town from any attacks from Glenbucket's people or any others. The hospital founded by Mr Gordon at Aberdeen, into which ho boys had

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Prince Charles holds a Council of War.

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hitherto been admitted, was fitted up for that purpose.

Meantime, Prince Charles was continually busied in a council of war, which was held day night, and in which it was debated whether or not they should suffer the royal army to pass the Spey, and then come to action, or whether they should defend the banks in order to gain time, by obliging the Duke to remain on the other side. Prince Charles, argued for the latter measure; but most of the other chiefs were of opinion that it would be less hazardous to adhere to the first. The Marquis of Tullibardine, with great coolness and judgment, advised to give the enemy a free passage, if it should prove that they really were determined to attempt it. "They are (said he) well provided with cannon and engineers, of both which we are in great want. Consequently they have it in their power to cover the passage of their troops, and mow down whole ranks on the opposite shore, while we are destitute of the like means for opposing them with any prospect of success; and what other means can we trust to? Our swords and small fire-arms we cannot, for their cannon will not suffer us to come within musket-shot of the river. In short, I believe no gentleman here can (after mature consideration) reasonably hope for success by attempting to hinder the enemy's passage. If we do attempt to hinder them, and prove unable, we are ruined inevitably. It will be impossible to rally and bring our men to renew

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Speech of the Marquis of Tullibardine.

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the conflict, after our enemies have got ample footing on this side the river: And on the other hand, will it not, at the same time, be too late to make any other retreat than a mere flight for our lives; and after such flight, can we ever hope to face the enemy again? But if we remain here, and suffer them to pass over to us, we have a fairer chance, we shall then have time enough to get ready for a regular action, or a regular retreat, according as circumstances occur. If we fight we have the same advantage that we had at Gladsmuir and Falkirk; if we retreat we may take our time, and have a sufficient distance betwixt us and the enemy, may march off either in the day or night, and shall have leisure enough to cover our rear. I said we have the same advantage as at Falkirk and Gladsmuir, and I may further add, that we have also a chance which cannot turn out to our disadvantage, and may prove of infinite service to us; if we come to action with the enemy, after they are entirely on this side the Spey, and gain an entire victory over them, we may possibly cut them entirely off, before they can find means to repass the river: In this case their force in Scotland will be absolutely ruined, we shall carry all before us in this kingdom, and perhaps none on this side London shall be able to stop our progress: One lucky battle may yet put us in possession of that capital."

The noble old Lord pronounced the latter part of his speech with so warm an emphasis, as produced a great effect on the young officers, and even upon

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The Royal Army passes the Spey.

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the Prince: However, after a long debate, it was resolved to follow the Marquis's advice, and suffer the enemy to pass the river without opposition.

On the 8th of April the last division of the royal army marched from Aberdeen, and encamped on the 11th at Cullen, at which place Lord Albemarle joined them, and the whole army was assembled. Next day they marched to the Spey, and passed it, with no other loss than one dragoon and four women who were drowned. Major-General Huske was detached in the morning with fifteen companies of grenadiers, the Argyllshire-men, all the cavalry, and two pieces of cannon; the Duke also went with them himself. On their approach, the enemy, who appeared to be between two and three thousand, retired from the side of the Spey towards Elgin; whereupon Kingston's horse forced over, sustained by the grenadiers and Campbells. But the enemy got out of their reach before they could pass. The foot waded over as fast as they arrived; and though the water came up to their middles, they went on with great cheerfulness.

They had the finest weather that could be wished for their first encampment, and found plenty of straw and forage. The army encamped on the 12th on the west side of the Spey, marched through Elgin on the 13th, encamped about three miles to the west of it, in the parish of Alves, and on the 14th reached Nairn, where they halted the 15th, being the Duke's birth-day, and employed themselves in putting their arms, &c. in order.

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Prince Charles collects his Troops at Inverness,

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Meantime Prince Charles was busied in preparing to attack the enemy, in encouraging his troops and collecting his men, which however he had not time to do, and some of the clans did not arrive till it was too late. The detachment under the command of the Earl of Cromartie and Barisdale were not returned from Sutherland. Lord George Murray arrived at Inverness from Athol on the 4th or 5th of April: but the party that he commanded at the siege of Blair castle, marched thence directly for the Spey. The French who had been at the siege of Fort William, about three hundred in number, came into Inverness on the 6th, with five pieces of cannon; but the Highlanders who had been on that service, Lochiel's and Keppoch's men, did not arrive till the 14th and 15th.

The corps between Inverness and the Spey retired as the King's army advanced. Early on Monday morning, Prince Charles went from Inverness to Nairn, either to reconnoitre the ground, to hold a council of war with the officers there, or to get more intelligence of the motions and strength of the King's army. He returned to Inverness in the afternoon, and the same evening drew out all the men that were there, to Culloden, two miles east of Inverness. The other corps that had been retiring before the King's army, met those from Inverness there, and the whole lay on their arms in Culloden parks on Monday night. There was only a small quantity of bread delivered them, either because they had not enough baked, or

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And marches to attack Cumberland in his camp.

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because they expected to engage next day, and therefore would not encumber the men with more baggage than was thought absolutely necessary.

Next day they formed in order of battle on Drummoissie moor, in expectation that the King's army would march up. Lochiel with six or seven hundred men had come up on the Monday, as did about the like number of Frasers, and Keppoch with his men, on Tuesday. It was computed they were now six thousand strong; and they had intelligence that the Duke had not above six thousand five hundred; though they afterwards judged this to be a misinformation, and that he had above nine thousand. The King's army not having moved from Nairn on the Tuesday, as was expected, after sunset the Highland army marched eastward, with design to attack them in their camp before break of day, in hopes to have caught them napping after solemnizing the Duke's birth-day. They marched in two columns, one commanded by Lord George Murray, and the other by the Duke of Perth; and were to meet about two miles from Nairn. Perth's column was too late in coming up, so that the King's army was apprized of their approach. Besides, a great many of their men had fallen off, thinking they might do this in the night unobserved, and hid themselves in the fields; so that when the two columns joined, it was judged, that of six thousand men who had marched off the moor, there were not much above half that number together. These circumstances obliged



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Abandons the design, and returns to Inverness.

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them to drop their design of attacking the Duke's camp; therefore they returned and came to Cul-loden about eight o'clock on Wednesday morning, the 16th. Most of the men that had straggled in the march eastward, joined them in their return. But the army was fatigued by their long march to Nairn and back again, being about eighteen miles; and as they had wanted two nights rest, and had ate but little for two days, a good many of them went to Inverness, and the villages around, and the rest lay down to refresh themselves.

They were scarce lain down, when notice came that the King's army was approaching. On this they prepared to form the line of battle on the moor; but could not get so many of their men together by upwards of a thousand as they had the day before.

The King's army began their march from Nairn between four and five in the morning, formed into five lines, of three battalions each; headed by Major-General Huske on the left, Lord Sempill on the right, and Brigadier Mordaunt in the centre: flanked by the horse under the Generals Hawley and Bland, who at the same time covered the cannon on the right and left.

They marched in this order about eight miles, when a detachment of Kingston's horse, and of the Campbells, having advanced ahead of the army, discovered the van of the enemy moving towards them; on notice whereof his Royal Highness commanded the army to form in order of battle, which

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Order of Battle of both Armies.

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was thus executed: The three battalions of the second line defiled to the left of the respective battalions in the van; that is to say, Barrel's to the left of Monro's, Scots fusileers to the left of Price's, and Cholmondeley's to the left of the Royals: then marching up, formed the front line of six battalions; between each of them two pieces of cannon. At the head of this line, and in the centre, the Earl of Albemarle commanded; on the right wing, three squadrons of horse commanded by Major-General Bland; on the left, three other squadrons, commanded by Lord Ancrum.

The second line consisted of five battalions, placed to face the openings of the front line, with three pieces of cannon placed between the first and second battalions on the right and left of the same line: in order that if the enemy either broke through the centre, or outflanked either the right or left of the front, they might conveniently play upon them.

To support both, and as a final reserve, were placed the remaining four battalions, winged on the right and left by Kingston's horse.

In this disposition the army continued some time: but the body of the enemy not advancing, it fell into marching order again, which continued until the front were within a mile of the enemy; then formed again into fighting-order as before.

The Highland army formed their front in thirteen divisions, being so many clans under their respective chiefs, with four pieces of cannon placed before their centre, and the same number on each

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Battle of Culloden.

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wing. The centre was headed by Lord John Drummond; the right wing, by Lord George Murray; and the left by the Duke of Perth. To support the front line occasionally, and covered by some stone walls on the right, were disposed Fitzjames's horse and four companies of French piquets; on the left, one body of horse, made up with Prince Charles's guards, some hussars, and the Perthshire squadron, and five companies of Lord John Drummond's foot. Open to the centre of the front line was the Prince placed, with his body-guards. In his rear, a line of reserve, consisting of three columns: the first, on the left, commanded by Lord Kilmarnock; the centre column, by Lord Lewis Gordon and Glenbucket; and the right, by Roy Stuart. Next, and directly in the rear of Glenbucket, were the regiments of Perth and Ogilvy stationed, as the final reserve.

In this order the Highlanders began firing on the King's army, about two o'clock, with their cannon; which being ill served did little execution. The firing was returned by the King's army with such success, as put the enemy in great disorder. They disliked this way of fighting, and therefore made a push on the right of the King's army; where his Royal Highness waited to receive them in person. This they did in a kind of bravado, to draw the King's troops forward; but finding themselves deceived, they turned their whole force to the left; and the weight of their fury fell chiefly on Barrel's and Monro's regiments; where they at-

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Battle of Culloden.

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tempted to flank the King's front line : but Wolfe's regiment advancing, entirely defeated their design. In the mean time the cannon was kept playing upon them with cartridge-shot. General Hawley, with some Campbells, had opened a passage through some stone walls to their right, for the horse which advanced on that side ; while the horse on the King's right wheeled off upon their left, dispersed their body of reserve, and met in the centre of their front line in their rear : when being repulsed in the front, and numbers cut off, they fell into an universal confusion. The horse on their backs made a dreadful carnage. The foot moved only in due order ; but Kingston's horse, from the reserve, galloped up briskly, and falling in with the fugitives, did great execution.

The Macphersons were met about five or six miles from the field of battle, on their march to Inverness, and on learning the unfortunate issue of the battle, returned to their own country.

The following is the official account of the battle, drawn up by order of the Duke of Cumberland :—

“ We gave our men a day's halt at Nairn, and on the 16th marched between four and five in four columns. The three lines of foot (reckoning the reserve for one) were broken into three from the right, which made three columns equal, and each of five battalions. The artillery and baggage followed the first column on the right, and the cavalry made the fourth column on the left.

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Battle of Culloden.

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“ After we had marched about eight miles, our advanced guards, composed of about forty of Kingston's horse, and the Highlanders, led on by the quarter-master-general, perceived the rebels at some distance making a motion towards us on the left, upon which we immediately formed ; but finding they were still a good way from us, and that the whole body did not come forward, we put ourselves again upon our march in our former posture, and continued it to within a mile of them, and then we formed again in the same order as before. After reconnoitring their situation, we found them posted behind some old walls and huts in a line with Culloden-house.

“ As we thought our right entirely secure, General Hawley and General Bland went to the left with two regiments of dragoons, to endeavour to fall upon the right flank of the enemy, and Kingston's horse was ordered to the reserve. Ten pieces of cannon were disposed two in each of the intervals of the first line, and all our Highlanders (except about an hundred and forty which were upon the left with General Hawley, and who behaved extremely well) were left to guard the baggage.

“ When we were advanced within five hundred yards of the rebels, we found the morass upon our right was ended, which left our right flank quite uncovered to them. His Royal Highness thereupon ordered the Duke of Kingston's horse from the reserve, and a little squadron of about sixty of Cobham's horse, that had been patrolling, to cover

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Battle of Culloden.

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our flank; and Pulteney's regiment was also ordered from the reserve to the right of the Royals.

" We spent about half an hour after that in trying which should gain the flank of the other: and in the mean time his Royal Highness sent Lord Bury (son to the Earl of Albemarle) forward to within a hundred yards of the enemy, to reconnoitre somewhat that appeared to us like a battery. On Lord Bury's approach, the enemy immediately began firing their cannon, which was extremely ill served and ill pointed. Ours as immediately answered them, and with great success, which began their confusion. They then came running on in their wild manner; and upon the right, where his Royal Highness had placed himself, imagining the greatest push would be made there, they came down three several times within an hundred yards of our men, firing their pistols and brandishing their swords; but the Royals and Pulteney's hardly took their firelocks from their shoulders each time, before the enemy retreated, abashed at the havock made among them by the fire-arms of the English; so that after these faint attempts they made off, and the little squadron on our right was sent to pursue them.

" Meantime, General Hawley had, by the help of our Highlanders, beat down two little stone walls, and came in upon the right flank of the enemy's line.

" As their whole first line came down to attack all at once, their right somewhat out-flanked Barrel's

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Battle of Culloden.

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regiment, which was our left, and the greatest part of the little loss we sustained was there ; but Bligh's and Sempill's giving a smart fire upon those who had out-flanked Barrel's, soon repulsed them ; and Barrel's regiment and the left of Monro's fairly beat them with their bayonets. There was scarce a soldier or officer of Barrel's, or that part of Monro's which engaged, who did not kill one or two men each with their bayonets and spontoons.

“ The cavalry, which had charged from the right and left, met in the centre, except two squadrons of dragoons, which we missed, and they were gone in pursuit of the runaways. Lord Ancrum was ordered to pursue with the horse as far as he could ; and he did it with so good effect, that a very considerable number were killed in the pursuit.

“ As we were on our march to Inverness, and were near arrived there, Major-General Bland sent a small packet to his Royal Highness, containing the terms of the surrender of the French officers and soldiers whom he found there ; which terms were no other than to remain prisoners of war at discretion. Major-General Bland had also made great slaughter, and taken about fifty French officers and soldiers prisoners in the pursuit. By the best calculation that can be yet made, it is thought the rebels lost two thousand men upon the field of battle and in the pursuit.

“ We have here two hundred and twenty-two French, and three hundred and twenty-six rebel prisoners, as will appear by lists hereunto annexed.

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Battle of Culloden.

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Lieutenant-Colonel Howard killed an officer, who appeared to be Lord Strathallan, by the seal, and different commissions from the Pretender found in his pocket.

“ It was said Lord Perth, Lord Nairn, Lochiel, Keppoch, and Appin Stuart, were also killed. All their artillery and ammunition, of which a list is also annexed, were taken, and their baggage; as were also twelve colours, and amongst them the Pretender's own.

“ All the generals, officers, and soldiers, did their utmost in his Majesty's service, and shewed the greatest zeal and bravery on this occasion.

“ The Pretender's son, it was said, lay at Lord Lovat's house at Aird, the night after the action. Brigadier Mordaunt was detached with nine hundred volunteers that morning into the Frasers country, to attack all the rebels he might find there. Lord Sutherland's and Lord Rea's people continue to exert themselves, and have taken upwards of an hundred rebels, who were sent for; and there was great reason to believe Lord Cromartie and his son were also taken. The Monro's have killed fifty of the rebels in their flight. As it was not known where the greatest bodies of them were, or which way they had taken their flight, his Royal Highness had not determined which way to march. On the 17th, as his Royal Highness was at dinner, three officers, and about sixteen of Fitzjames's regiment, who were mounted, came and surrendered themselves prisoners.”



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Battle of Culloden.

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The killed, wounded, and missing of the King's troops, (as by the annexed list), amounted to above three hundred.

*Return of the names of the Officers, and number of Non-commissioned Officers, Private Men, and Horses, killed and wounded.*

Royal Scots.—4 men wounded.

Howards.—1 man killed, and 2 wounded.

Barrel's.—Captain Lord Robert Ker, and 16 men, killed. Lieutenant-Colonel Rich, Captain Romer, Lieutenant Edmonds, Ensigns Campbell and Brown, and 103 men, wounded.

Wolf's.—Ensign Bruce, wounded.

Price's.—Captain Grossette, killed. Captain Simpson, and 8 men wounded.

Bligh's.—4 men killed. Lieutenant Trapaud and 16 men wounded.

Scots fusileers.—7 men wounded.

Sempill's.—1 man killed, and 13 wounded.

Cholmondeley's.—1 man killed, and 2 wounded.

Fleming's.—6 men wounded.

Late Monro's.—14 men killed. Captain Kinnier, Lieutenants King and Lort, Ensigns Dally and Mundock, and 63 men wounded.

Late Ligonier's.—1 man killed. Captain Spark, and 4 men wounded.

Battereau's.—Captain Carter, and 2 men wounded.

Loudon's.—Captain John Campbell, wounded, and dead since; 6 men killed, and 2 wounded.

Argyllshire militia.—Captain Colin Campbell, wounded, and dead since.

Kingston's horse.—1 man wounded.

Cobham's dragoons.—1 man killed.

Mark Ker's dragoons.—3 men killed, and 3 wounded.

Artillery.—1 gunner, and 5 men wounded.

Rank and file, officers included, total killed 50; wounded 259; missing 1. In all 310.

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 Battle of Culloden.
 

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Horses.—Kingston's: 2 killed, and 1 wounded.—Cobham's: 4 killed, and 5 wounded.—Mark Ker's: 4 killed, and 15 wounded. In all, 10 killed, and 21 wounded.

Of the Highland army there were,—

Officers killed.—Lord Strathallan; Keppoch, (was said to be a mistake); Colonels Fraser, Mackenzie, and Macintosh; and Major Macbain.

Officers taken.—The Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie; Lord Balmerino; Lord Macleod; Colonel Macgillivrey, leader of the Macintoshes; Colonel Macghe of Shirloch, leader of the Raunachs; Colonel Stuart of Ardsheal, leader of the Stuarts of Appin; and Major Glasgow.

The total killed and taken was 4000. Of which 3050 are killed and wounded; and 700 Highlanders and deserters, 24 French officers, and 226 troopers and foot, are taken.

Ladies taken.—Ladies Ogilvy, Kinloch, Gordon, Macintosh, and Shirloch, and Mrs Williams.

*Return of Ordnance and Stores taken at and since the battle of Culloden.*

Brass ordnance, 3 of 1½ lb., 11 of 3 lb., and 4 of 4 lb. Iron ditto, 4 of 4 lb. In all 22.—Brass swivels, 6. Iron ditto, 2. In all 8.—Firelocks of different kinds, 2320. Broad swords and blades, 190. Musket-cartridges, 1500. Shot for ordnance of different natures, 1019. Musket shot, 5 cwt. Barrels of powder, 37. Ammunition-carts, 22. Besides smaller stores, some tents, cantines, pouches and cartouch-boxes, pistols, saddles, &c.

*Return of the Highland Officers and Soldiers prisoners at Inverness.*

Three Colonels: Lord Kilmarnock, Stirlingshire; Francis Farquharson, Aberdeenshire; and Maclachlan, Invernesshire. One Major: James Stewart, of Perth's regiment. Five Captains: John Farquharson, of Farquharson's regiment; Alexander Cumming and Alexander Buchannan, of Perth's; Andrew Wood, of Roy Stuart's; and Andrew Spruel, of Pitsligo's. One

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Lieutenant: George Gordon, of Glenbucket's. Three Ensigns: Duncan Macgrigor, of Farquharson's; James Lindsay, of Strathallan's; and James Hay of Pitsligo's. One Engineer: John Finlayson, from Edinburgh. One Deputy Paymaster, Nairn, from Edinburgh. One Chaplain: George Law, from Aberdeen. Two Surgeons: George Lauder and John Rattray, from Edinburgh. Four Life-guards, under the command of Lord Elcho: Sir John Wedderburn, from Angus; Walter Gordon from Mid-Lothian; Andrew Cassie, from Tweeddale; and James Bradshaw, from Manchester. One Cadet in the French piquets: Donald Ferguson, of Perth's regiment; and David Fraser, of the Master of Lovat's. John Macintire, of Argyllshire, Bawman to the Pretender; George Addison, from Aberdeen, of Pitsligo's regiment, Bawman. Two hundred and twenty-nine private men; one of which, Donald Fraser, a dumb man of Lord Lovat's, was said to have killed seven men at Falkirk. Eighty-nine deserters from different regiments of the King's troops.

To this return a list was likewise annexed, of prisoners at Inverness, to be tried by a civil court for being aiding and assisting Prince Charles, viz. John Gordon, factor to the Duke of Gordon; Alexander Innes, commissary-clerk of Aberdeenshire; William Weaver, of Aberdeenshire; Christopher Patter, of Yorkshire; John Cowie, Edward Smith, Alexander Shand, Alexander Clerk, Joseph Grant, and John Korrack, of Murrayshire; John Seed of London, Wm. Gordon and John Ritchie, of Aberdeen; John Innes, of Buchan; Daniel Barber, John Shaw, James Murray, and John Taylor, of Inverness; James Brander, John Johnston, William Fenwick, John Christy, and William Mackay, of Elgin; and John Macdonald, Chelsea pensioner.

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 Battle of Culloden.
 

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*Translation of a Letter from the Officers in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, who were at Inverness the day of the battle of Culloden, to Major-General Bland.*

" SIR,

*Inverness, April 16.*

" The French officers and soldiers, who are at Inverness, surrender themselves prisoners to his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and hope for every thing which is to be expected from the English generosity. Signed, CUSACK. MURPHY. LE MARQUIS DE GUILLES. DEHAU. D'OBRIEN. M'DONELL.

*" To the Commanding Officer of the troops of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland."*

*Translation of the Parole of Honour signed by the Officers in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, with their names, titles, &c.*

*" Inverness, April 17, 1746.*

" We the underwritten, in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, acknowledge ourselves prisoners of war of his Britannic Majesty; and we engage ourselves, upon our parole of honour, not to go out of the town of Inverness, without permission from his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, In witness whereof, we have signed this, and have thereunto set the seal of our arms. Done at the head quarters at Inverness, the 17th of April, 1746."

The parole is signed by the fifty-one officers following, viz.

Stapleton, Brigadier of the armies of the Most Christian King, Lieutenant-Colonel; Captains Delahoyde and Patrick Clargue; and Lieutenants Thomas Goold, Pierre O'Reily, and Eugene O'Keaffe, of Berwick's regiment.

Jean M'Donell, Colonel; Lieutenant Barnaval; and Quartermaster Philippe Molloy, of Fitzjames's regiment.

Le Marquis de Guilles, (called by the rebels the French Ambassador), captain in the marines regiment.

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Captains Francois Nugent, (appointed to exercise the function of Quartermaster in the French troops in Scotland), Patrice Nugent, Robert Shee, and Thomas Baggot; Lieutenant Jean Nugent; Cornet De Cook; and Adjutant Mark Baggot, of Fitz-james's horse.

Captain N. Camerford; Lieutenant O'Danil; and Thomas Scot, volunteer, in Bulkley's regiment.

Captains Cusack, Richard Bourke, Edouard de Nugent, and John Dillon; and Lieutenants Jean M'Donagh, Michel Burke, and Carberry Fox, of Dillon's regiment.

Captain Thomas M'Dermott, and Lieutenants Dudley M'Dermott and Peter Taaffe, of Rothe's regiment.

Captains Robert Stack, (who being wounded, Murphy signed for him), Richard Murphy, and Alexander Geoghegan; and Lieutenants Miles Swiny, Patrick Sarsfield, and Jaques Grant, of Lally's regiment.

Captain Jean O'Bryen, of the regiment of Paris militia.

Captains O'Donohou, Douglas, D'Horton, Jean St Leger, and Lord Lewis Drummond; and Lieutenants Dicconson, Nairne, and Damary, in the Royal Scots.

Charles Guillaume Douglass, Captain in Languedoc.

D'Andrion and Charles Bodin, officers of artillery.

Du Saussay, French engineer.

Alexander Gordon, chaplain of the French troops.

Pierre Colieno, second captain of a Spanish ship.

No account of the battle was published under the authority of Prince Charles, but the following, supposed to be written by Lord George Murray, may be considered demi-official on the part of the vanquished, and by its frequently placing Lord George's conduct in a gallant point of view, is evidently designed to remove some of the stigma with which his character was branded by the Highland

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chiefs. It was published in London in 1749, in the form of a letter, with this notice prefixed:—

‘ The following letter was wrote from the Highlands of Scotland, in summer 1746, at the request of a friend, and never intended for the public; but no particular account of the battle of Culloden having as yet appeared, it is hoped this may not be unacceptable, as it tends to remove some mistakes that have hitherto prevailed with respect to that affair, and contains a number of facts which only could have fallen within the knowledge of one so nearly concerned as the author. The hardships he at that time underwent, and the dangers he must have been exposed to, no doubt occasioned its being written in a hurry; but the publisher chuses rather it should appear as it is, than take upon him to make any alterations.’—

“ SIR,

“ In answer to what you wrote about the Highland army having not behaved with their usual bravery, or that some of their principal officers had not done their duty, which might be the occasion of their late misfortune, I must inform you, that by all I can learn the men shewed the utmost eagerness to come to action; nor did I hear of one officer but behaved well, so far as the situation and circumstances would allow. The truth seems to be, that they were overpowered by a superior force, and their field of battle was ill chose, which gave

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the Duke of Cumberland great advantage, especially in his cannon and horse. Another misfortune they lay under, was a total want of provisions, so that they were reduced to the necessity either of fighting an army a third stronger, starve, or disperse.

“ I shall let you know what happened the day of the battle, and the preceding day, so far as consists with my knowledge.

“ On the 15th, all those of the Highland army who were assembled, were drawn up in line of battle upon a moor, south from Culloden, facing eastward ; this was done very early in the morning, as it was known that the Duke of Cumberland had come to Nairn the night before ; but as he did not move in the morning, it was judged that he would not march that day, it being his birth-day, and as his troops had made no halt from the time they left Aberdeen, it was reasonable to think he would give them a day's rest.

“ About ten o'clock, Lord George Murray desired Brigadier Stapleton and Colonel Ker, to cross the water of Airn, near where the army was drawn up (not far from the place where the battle was fought next day) to take a view of the hilly ground on the south side of the water, which, to him, seemed to be steep and uneven, consequently much more proper for Highlanders ; for the ground they were drawn up on was a large plain moor, and though in some parts it was interspersed with moss and deep ground, yet, for the most part, it was a fair field, and good for horse. After two or three hours they

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returned, and reported, that the ground was rough, and rugged, mossy and soft, so that no horse could be of use there; that the ascent from the water side was steep, and there were but two or three places in about three or four miles where the horse could cross, the banks being inaccessible; they could not tell what kind of ground was at a greater distance, but the country people informed them, that for a great way it was much the same. Upon this information, Lord George Murray proposed that the other side of the water should be the place for the army to be drawn up in line of battle next day; but this was not agreed to; it was said, that it looked like shunning the enemy, being a mile farther than the moor they were then upon, and at a greater distance from Inverness, which it was resolved not to abandon, a great deal of ammunition and baggage being left there.

“ It was then proposed to make a night attack upon the Duke of Cumberland’s army in their camp, which if it could be done before one or two o’clock in the morning, might (though a desperate attempt) have a chance of succeeding: several of the officers listened to this, as they knew the Duke of Cumberland was much superior in number to the Highlanders. The objections to it were, that a great many of the army had not yet joined, particularly Keppoch, Master of Lovat, Clunie, Glengyle, the M’Kenzies, and many of Glengary’s men, and other regiments, which were all expected in two or three days, or sooner, and if they should fail



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in the attempt, and be repulsed, it would not be easy rallying the Highlanders in the dark : That if the Duke of Cumberland was alarmed by any of the patrols (suppose no spy should give him intelligence) he might have time to put his army in order in their camp, place his cannon, charged with cartouch shot, as he had a mind, and his horse might be all in readiness, so as to pursue, if the Highlanders were beat off. And, lastly, the difficulty of making the retreat, with perhaps many wounded men, whom the Highlanders will never leave behind, if it is possible to bring them off. It is to be observed that there was no intelligence of the situation of the enemy's camp; add to this, how fatiguing it would be to march backward and forward twenty miles, and probably be obliged to fight next day, even could they make a safe retreat, and not be attacked before they joined the rest of their army.

“ On the other hand, the Prince was very much bent for the night attack, and said, he had men enough to beat the enemy, who he believed were utterly dispirited, and would never stand a brisk and bold attack. The Duke of Perth, and Lord John Drummond seemed to relish it, and Lord George Murray, Lochiel, with others, were induced to make a fair trial of what could be done, though they were sensible of the danger, should it miscarry: They observed, with much concern, the want of provisions; the men had only got that day a biscuit each, and some not that, and it was feared

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they would be worse next day, except they could take provisions from the enemy; and they had reason to believe, that if the men were allowed to disperse, to shift for some meat, which many of them would do, if the army continued there all night, that it would be very difficult to assemble them in the event of a sudden alarm; which, considering the nearness of the enemy, might reasonably be supposed; and as they must have lain that night upon the moors near Culloden, as they had done the night before, they knew many of the men would disperse without liberty to several miles distance for provisions and quarters, and that it would be far in the day before they could be assembled again; and as Keppoch came up and joined the army that afternoon, they flattered themselves, the men they had might do, if they could make the attack by one or two in the morning; especially if they were undiscovered, as they had great hopes they might; for having examined the different roads, of which they had perfect intelligence from the M'Intoshes, who lived in those very parts, they found they could keep upon a moor the whole way, so as to shun houses, and be a considerable way from the high road that leads from Inverness to Nairn. They also considered, that in the event of making the attack, should they be beat off, without the desired success, they might before day-break get back as far as Culraick, which was very strong ground, and from thence by a hill they could retire the whole way on the south side of the water of

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Airn, till they were joined by their friends, whom they expected, and by the stragglers; nor did they believe the enemy would follow (suppose the Highlanders were beat back) till it was good day-light, so as they could see about them, and send out reconnoitering parties to prevent their falling into snares and ambuscades: and before all this could be done, the Highland army might have reached Culraick, and the hilly ground on the south side of the said water, where regular troops could not easily overtake them, and where their cannon and horse, in which was their greatest superiority, would have been of little use.

“That they found the Prince was resolved to fight the enemy, without waiting for the succours that were soon expected, and without retiring to any stronger ground, or endeavouring to draw the Duke of Cumberland’s army any farther from the sea, from whence he got all his provisions that were brought in ships that sailed along, as the army marched near the shore.

“For these reasons, the above gentlemen, and most, if not all others, who were spoke to upon the subject, seemed to think the night attack might be attempted; but most of them thought they were in very bad circumstances at any rate; and no attempt could well be more desperate than their present situation.

“About seven at night an incident happened that had liked to have stopped the designed attempt, and thereupon many were designed to have given

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it up as impracticable. The thing was this, numbers of the men went off to all sides, especially towards Inverness, and when the officers, who were sent on horseback to bring them back, came up with them, they could by no persuasion be induced to return, giving for reason, that they were starving, and said to the officers, they might shoot them if they pleased, but they would not go back till they got some provisions.

“ But the Prince continued keen for the attack, and positive to attempt it, and said, that there was not a moment to be lost, for as soon as the men should see the march begin, not one of them would flinch. It was near eight at night when they moved, which could not be sooner, else they might have been perceived at a considerable distance, and the enemy have seen them on their march. Lord George Murray was in the van, Lord John Drummond in the centre, and the Duke of Perth towards the rear, where was also the Prince, having Fitzjames's horse and others with him. Proper directions were given for small parties to possess all the roads, that intelligence might not be carried to the enemy. There were two officers and about thirty men of the M'Intoshes in the front, as guides; and some of these men were in the centre and rear, and in other parts, to prevent any of the men from losing their way in the dark. Before the van had marched a mile, which they did as slow as could well be, to give time to the line to follow, there was express after express sent to stop them, the rear being far

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behind: upon this the van marched still slower, but in a short time after, there came aid-de-camps and other officers, to stop them, or at least to make them go slower; and of these messages I am sure there came near one hundred before the front got so far as Culraick, which retarded them to such a degree, that the night was far spent; for from the place the army began the march to Culraick, was but six miles, and they had still four long miles to Nairn.

“It was now about one o'clock in the morning when Lord John Drummond came up to the van, and said, that several were far behind, and if they did not stop or go slower, he was afraid the rear could not get up. In a little time after, the Duke of Perth came also to the front, and assured them, that if there was not a halt, the rear could not join. There was a stop accordingly; Lochiel had been mostly in the van all night, and his men were next to the Athol-men, who were in the front. There were also several other officers that came up, there being a defile a little way behind, occasioned by a wall at the wood of Culraick, which also retarded the march of those who were behind.

“The officers talking of the different places of making the attacks, it was said by some, that it was better to make the attempt with four thousand men before day-break, as with double that number after it was light. Mr Sullivan was also come up to the front, and it being now evident, by the time the army had taken to march little

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more than six miles, it would be impossible to make the other part of the road, which was about four miles before it was clear day-light, besides the time that must be spent in making the disposition for the attack, as it could not be done by the army in the line, on their long march. Mr Sullivan said, he had just then come from the Prince, who was very desirous the attack should be made; but as Lord George Murray led the van, and could judge of the time, he left it to him whether to do it or not. There were several gentlemen, having joined the Athol-men as volunteers, had walked all night in the front, and as the Duke of Perth, Lord John Drummond, and the other officers, seemed much diffculted what to resolve upon, Lord George Murray desired them to give their opinion, for they were all deeply concerned in the consequence. The young gentlemen were all for marching on, and eager to come to an engagement; which opinion shewed abundance of courage, for they must have been in the first ranks, had there been an attack; but most of the officers were of a different opinion, as several of them expressed. Loehiel and his brother said, that they had been as much for the night attack as any body could be, and it was not their fault that it was not done, but blamed those in the rear, who had marched so slow, and retarded the rest of the army. Lord George Murray was of the same way of thinking, and said, if they could have made the attack, it was the best chance they had, especially if they could have surprised the

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enemy ; but to attack a camp that were near double their number in day-light, when they could be prepared to receive them, must be reckoned madness by every body.

“ At this very time Mr John Hay came up, and said, that the line was joined ; being informed the resolution was taken to return, he began to argue upon the point, but it was too late. This was the gentleman the army blamed for want of provisions, (he having the superintendency of those things) but with what justice I shall not take upon me to say. It was about two o'clock in the morning (the halt not being above a quarter of an hour) when they went back in two columns, the rear facing about, and the van taking another way at a little distance. They had a view of the fires in the Duke of Cumberland's camp ; and as they did not shun passing near houses, as they had done in advancing, they marched very quick ; day-light began to appear in about an hour : They got to Culloden pretty early, so that the men had three or four hours rest : They killed what cattle and sheep they could find ; but few of them had time to make any thing ready, before the alarm came of the enemy being on their march, and approaching. The horse of the Prince's army had been all on so hard duty for several days and nights before, that none of them were fit for patrolling at that time, Fitzjames's horse, and several others had gone to Inverness to refresh ; so that at first it was not known whether it was an advanced party, or the Duke of Cumberland's

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whole army; however the Highlanders got ready as quick as possible, and marched through the parks of Culloden in battalions, just as they happened to be lying, to the moor on the south side, facing eastward, and about half a mile farther back than where they had been drawn up the day before.

“ Lord George Murray once more proposed to pass the water of Airn, as being the strongest ground, and much the fittest for Highlanders, and Clunje, who was expected every moment, was to come on that side; but this was not agreed to, for the same reason that was given the day before, namely, that it was like shunning the enemy, and abandoning Inverness. Speaking to Mr Sullivan, he told him he was afraid the enemy would have great advantages in that plain moor, both in their horse and cannon: But he answered, that he was sure horse could be of no use there, because there were several bogs and morasses; but, I am sorry to say it, the event proved otherwise. Mr Sullivan drew up the army in line of battle, being both adjutant and quarter-master-general, the right near to some inclosures near the water of Airn, and the left towards the parks of Culloden. I cannot justly tell what order they were drawn up in; there had been some disputes a day or two before about the rank, but nobody, who had any regard for the common cause, insisted upon such things on that occasion.

“ Those who had gone off the night before, and early that morning to Inverness and other parts, had now joined, and the Master of Lovat was come



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up with a considerable recruit of his men. It was observed, that upon the right there were park-walls, under which so many of the enemy could draw up and flank the Highlanders; Lord George Murray, who commanded that wing, was very desirous to have advanced and thrown them down; but as this would have broke the line, and the enemy forming their line of battle very near that place, it was judged, by those about him, too dangerous to attempt.

“ Both armies being formed, the cannonading began on both sides, after which there were some alterations made in the dispositions of the two armies, by bringing troops from the second line to the first, as both endeavoured to out-flank one another. The Highlanders were much galled by the enemy's cannon, and were growing so impatient, that they called out for the attack; upon which it was judged proper to attack, and orders were given accordingly. The right wing advanced first, as the whole line did much at the same time, and gave the onset with their usual intrepidity. The left wing did not go in sword in hand, imagining they should be flanked by a regiment of foot, and some horse which the enemy brought up about that time from their second line or corps-de-reserve. When the right wing were within pistol-shot of the enemy, they received a most terrible fire, not only in front, but also in flank, from a side-battery supported by the Campbells, &c. notwithstanding which, they went in sword in hand, after their giving their fire close

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to the enemy, and though they were received by them with their spontoons and bayonets, the two regiments of foot that were upon the enemy's left, would have been entirely cut to pieces, had they not been immediately supported by two other regiments from their second line. As it was, these two regiments (being Barrel's and Monro's) had above two hundred men killed and wounded. Two regiments of dragoons coming up on the same side, entirely broke that wing of the Highlanders; and though three battalions of the right of the second line were brought up and gave their fire very well, yet the ground and every thing else was so favourable to the enemy, that nothing could be done but a total rout ensued.

“ I am positively informed, that the whole Highland army did not consist of above five thousand fighting men, and the Duke of Cumberland's must have been at least above eight thousand. In the one army there were not above one hundred and fifty horse, of which one half was of the regiment of Fitzjames's; in the other army they had eleven or twelve hundred. When a misfortune happens, people are apt to throw the blame upon persons and causes, which frequently are the effects of malice or ignorance, without knowing the real springs of motives.

“ Some are of opinion, that the night attack could have been made; but I am convinced of the contrary, for the following reasons:—

“ The Highland army, when they halted near

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Culraick, were not above four thousand men ; they had four miles to march, part of them were to have made a considerable circumference, so that it would have been sun-rise before they could have made the attack. The ground about Nairn where the enemy was encamped, was a hard dry soil, and plain moors for three miles round, except where the sea intervened, the nearest strong and uneven ground being the Wood of Culraick. Let it be supposed that the Highlanders had made an attack in broad day-light upon the enemy, double their number in their camp, who were well refreshed by a day and two night's rest, with plenty of all kinds of provisions, with their cannon pointed as they thought proper, and their horse drawn up to their wish, in a fine plain, what must the consequence have been? What must be said of officers, who led men on in such circumstance and in such situation? Would it not have been certain death and destruction to all who had made the attack? Would it not have been said (and justly too) why go on in so desperate an attempt, seeing it could not be done by surprise and undiscovered, as was projected? Why not try the chance of a fair battle, by retiring and being joined by the rest of the army, as well those who had withdrawn the night before, as a great many others who were hourly expected, where also they would have cannon, and might have the choice of the field of battle? By this means there was a fair chance, by the other there was none.

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“ As to the above-mentioned facts, you may rely upon them. I saw the Duke of Perth, the Duke of Athol, Lord John Drummond, Lord George Murray, Lord Ogilvie, Colonel Stuart of Ardshiel, Colonel John Roy Stuart, Lord Nairn, and several others at Ruthven in Badenoch, on the Friday after the battle; they all agreed on the same things. There is one thing I must take notice of, that from the beginning of the whole affair, till that time, there had never been the least dispute or misunderstanding among any of the officers. Some found fault that the night march was undertaken, seeing there was not a certainty of reaching Nairn in time to make the attack before day-light; as also that they had too few men. In answer to this, there was nobody doubted, when the march was begun, but that there would be abundance of time; their greatest precaution was to take care not to be discovered. The Highlanders had often made very quick marches in the night time. The French piquets I believe were in the rear, and were not so clever in marching. The moor they went through was more plashy than was expected, and they were obliged to make some turns to shun houses, and there were two or three defiles that took up a good deal of time to pass. The guides, though they knew the ground very well, yet were not judges what time it would take to march those ten miles, as they were called, though by reason of the indirect road, must have been much more.

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“ Notwithstanding all this, I am persuaded that the clans (had they not been retarded by repeated orders and messages) would have reached Nairn by two o'clock in the morning. As for their numbers, though not half that of the enemy, they might very probably succeeded; for had they made the attack undiscovered, so as to have got in sword in hand, they had undoubtedly cut their enemies to pieces. Nothing indeed is more uncertain than the events of war? Night attacks are most of all subject to disappointments. This march and counter-march, was too sure, as things turned out, a great disadvantage; it fatigued the men much, and the time might have been much better employed; a council of war might been obtained, in which, doubtless, a resolution would have been taken to chuse a more advantageous field of battle, and perhaps have postponed fighting till the succours that were coming up, with the utmost expedition, should join. Councils of war were seldom held, and were out of request from the time the army marched into England. I remember only two that were held there, one at Brampton, in regard of besieging Carlisle, or going to attack General Wade, the other was at Carlisle, where it was resolved to march forward. What happened at Derby was accidental: most of the officers being at the Prince's quarters, and taking into their consideration their situation, they were all unanimous in advising the Prince to retreat, rather than come to an engagement, without

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almost a certainty of success, in a country that stood waiting to declare for the conquerors; in which case a defeat to his army there must have proved fatal.

“ I think there was but one council of war called after they returned to Scotland, and that was near Creiff, the day after the retreat from Stirling, where there was some difference in opinion; some at first being for the army going all one road, but it was at last agreed to march for Inverness, in two separate bodies, the one by the Highland road, and the other by the coast. The day of the battle of Falkirk, the officers were called together in the field, where the army was drawn up betwixt Bannockburn and Torwood, and they all agreed to march straight to the enemy. As to retreat from Stirling, it was advised by many of the principal officers, particularly the clans. They drew up their reasons, and signed them at Falkirk, three days before the retreat was made; the chief of which was, a vast number of their men had gone home, after the battle, and were not returned, and that as the siege of Stirling castle was not advancing, they did not think it adviseable to fight in such circumstances.

“ This letter has been much longer than I intended: But before I conclude, I must acquaint you with a proposal that was made six weeks before the battle of Culloden: Some officers proposed sending up meal to several places in the Highlands, and in particular towards Badenoch, that in the

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event of the Duke of Cumberland's marching to Inverness, before the army was gathered, they might retreat for a few days, till they could assemble: or, if a misfortune should happen by a defeat, there might be some provisions in those parts; but this was reckoned a timorous advice, and was rejected as such: though I have reason to think it was the opinion of almost all the Highland officers, who were not for precipitating any thing. There is no doubt to be made, but that the Highlanders could have avoided fighting, till they had found their advantage by so doing: they could have made a summer's campaign, without running the risque of any misfortune; they could have marched through the hills to places in Banffshire, Aberdeenshire, the Mearns, Perthshire, Lochaber and Argyllshire, by ways that regular troops could not have followed; and if they ventured among the mountains, it must have been attended with great danger and difficulty; their convoys might have been cut off, and opportunities might have offered to attack them with almost a certainty of success: And though the Highlanders had neither money nor magazines, they would not have starved in that season of the year, so long as there were sheep and cattle; they could also have separated themselves in two or three different bodies, got meal for some days provision, met again at a place appointed, and might have fallen upon the enemy where they least expected; they could have marched in three days, what would have taken regular troops five; nay,

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had those taken the high roads (as often they would have been obliged, upon account of their carriages) it would have taken them ten or twelve days; in short, they might have been so harassed and fatigued, that they must have been in the greatest distress and difficulties, and at length probably been destroyed; at least much might have been expected by gaining of time, perhaps the Highlanders might have been enabled to have made an offensive, instead of a defensive war. This was the opinion of many of the officers who considered the consequences of losing a battle: they knew well, that few Highlanders would join heartily against them so long as they continued entire: but would upon a defeat.

“ One great objection to this, was, that the Irish officers (who were as brave men, and zealous in the cause as any could be) and some of the Low-Country gentlemen, could not well endure the fatigue of a Highland campaign; and as to the common soldiers, that came from France, there were not above four hundred of them remaining; they and their officers (even though a battle had been lost) had only to surrender, and were prisoners of war. It was very different with the Scots, whose safety depended upon their not venturing a battle, without great probability of success: but any proposition to postpone fighting, was ill received, and was called discouraging the army. I have nothing more to add, but that I am, Sir, yours, &c.

“ *Lochaber, 16th May, 1746.*”



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Notwithstanding the apparent candour of the foregoing letter, Lord George Murray was suspected by some of the chiefs of having betrayed the army, and of having hastened on the battle of Culloden.\* These aspersions he takes great pains

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\* Articles of Impeachment against Lord George Murray:—

I. That he (Lord George Murray) was suspected, and accused, of mal-practices by the public, and, particularly, by John Murray, secretary; and that it was destructive to the Prince's interest, that he (Lord George Murray) should, under such accusations, and after the interception of the letters at Derby, solicit and retain command, to the great discontent of the Prince's friends and forces, especially after he (Lord George) had lost the confidence of the people.

II. That he did not pay proper deference to wise councils; and that he acted presumptuously and arrogantly, without calling councils of war.

III. That he wantonly urged the battle of Culloden, though he well knew that a considerable number of as good men as any the Prince had, were absent.

IV. That in the night expedition, he acted contrary to the plan set down, in filing off in the dark, without giving advice to the second line, by which the Prince's scheme was disconcerted, and the lives of his men endangered.

V. That the Prince's army was, by his (Lord George's) means, kept under arms, marching and counter-marching without rest, and half starved for want of meat and drink, for forty-eight hours, before the battle; and therefore could not exert their wonted strength; on which, with their usual way of fighting, much depended.

VI. That, just before the battle, the Lord Elcho asked him (Lord George) what he thought of the event? To which he answered, "We are now putting an end to a bad affair."

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to refute, both in the above letter and in another written to Mr Hamilton of Bangour, published

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VII. That in forming the order of battle, he suddenly altered the plan by which they were drawn up the day before, commanding the M'Donalds to the left, the Camerons to the right; well knowing that the M'Donalds, who, time immemorial, held the right, would not fight under such an indignity.

VIII. That he, wilfully, marched the front line out of an advantageous situation, and refused to level some huts and walls, which apparently would prove an obstruction to the second line, in supporting the first; or ruinous, in case of a necessity for a retreat; although he (Lord George) was solicited to remove those evils.

IX. That, by his neglect, the artillery was ill served, and ill executed.

X. That when the right of the Highlanders had broke the left of the crown army, he (Lord George) neglected his duty, in not having them duly supported, whereby they were attacked in flank by the crown horse.

XI. That he had industriously put himself in the advance-posts, upon the night expedition, and on the day of battle; and had, without any necessity, put himself in posts of danger, and therewith prevented the execution of all designs.

XII. That it is evident that the Duke of Cumberland, who commanded the crown army, would never draw off his horse from his right, and weaken that wing, where the Highland force was most powerful against him, if he had not had intelligence, that such an alteration would be suddenly made in the Highland army, as would create such disgust, as to render their left wing quite inactive and useless; which intelligence could not be given by any but him (Lord George Murray) as he had made such sudden alterations, without the approbation of a council of war, and without the previous knowledge, consent,

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Battle of Culloden.

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in the appendix to Home's History of the Rebellion: indeed they appear to be without any foundation, and perhaps his disregard to the precedency of rank, by which he drew upon himself a great deal of enmity, was the sole reason of their fixing upon him as the cause of their discomfiture.

The following order, dated the 15th of April, and signed, "By his Royal Highness's command, George Murray, Lieutenant-General," said to have been found in the pocket of one of the prisoners, was inserted in several papers, but never made mention of in the Gazette, viz. "*Parole*, RIGH SHEMUIS. It is his Royal Highness's positive order, that every person attach himself to some corps of the army, and remain with the corps night and day, until the battle and pursuit be finally over; and to give no quarter to the Elector's troops on any account whatsoever. This regards the foot as well as horse. The order of battle is to be given to every General Officer, and commander of a regiment or squadron. It is required and expected of each individual in the army, as well officer as

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or advice of the Prince, or any of the Prince's faithful friends and General Officers.

All which actings and doings manifestly demonstrate, that the said Lord George Murray hath not faithfully discharged the trust and confidence reposed in him; and that he has been an enemy to the Prince, and to the good people of the British dominions, by swerving from his duty and allegiance.

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Battle of Culloden.

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soldier, that he keep the post he shall be allotted; and if any man turn his back to run away, the next behind such man is to shoot him. Nobody, upon pain of death, is to strip the slain, or plunder, until the battle is over. The Highlanders to be in kilts, and nobody to throw away their guns."

The following speech was said to have been made by the Duke to the army immediately before the battle, "Gentlemen and fellow-soldiers, I have but little time to address myself to you, but I think proper to acquaint you, that you are instantly to engage in defence of your King and country, your religion, your liberties and properties; and, through the justice of our cause, I make no doubt of leading you on to certain victory. Stand but firm, and your enemies will soon fly before you. But if there be any amongst you, who, through timidity, are diffident of their courage and behaviour, which I have not the least reason to suspect, or any others, who, through conscience or inclination, cannot be zealous or alert in performing their duty, it is my desire that all such would immediately retire: and I further declare, they shall have my free pardon for so doing; for I would rather be at the head of one thousand brave and resolute men, than ten thousand, amongst whom there are some, who, by cowardice or misbehaviour, may dispirit or disorder the troops, and so bring dishonour or disgrace on any army under my command."

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Battle of Culloden.

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When the action was over, the Duke rode through the army, and thanked the officers and soldiers, in his Majesty's name, for their firm and vigorous behaviour; which was answered by a general shout, and "Flanders! Flanders! we'll follow your Royal Highness against any enemy."

The cavalry under Lord Ancrum pursued so close, and made such terrible slaughter, that not only the field of battle, but the road to Inverness, for four miles, was covered with mangled or dead bodies; and the slaughter was so undistinguished, that many of the poor inhabitants of Inverness, who had come out of curiosity to see the battle, being clad in the Highland dress, and therefore impossible to be distinguished, were indiscriminately put to the sword among the fugitives.

We shall here insert some extracts of letters relating to this memorable event:—

"The rebels formed themselves into a close body on our left; and after firing some of the cannon to very little purpose, pushed down upon our left with great impetuosity. At first some impression was made upon Barrel's regiment, but they soon recovered themselves. The rebels were flanked on their left by our cartridge-shot, which killed many of them. They fired but once; then, as usual, threw down their firelocks, and closed upon Barrel's, Price's, and Monro's. The battle was now entirely fought between sword and bayonets. Our soldiers, by a new practice of using the latter, became much too hard for the swords; and the

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Battle of Culloden.

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rebels, as they pushed forwards, fell on certain death. Ours at least killed ten men to their one in this kind of fighting, besides what fell by the musketry and cannon. The rebels finding their only manner of fighting obviated, and those who supported their front cut off, they at first made a short pause, retreated a little, and then turning short round, fled with the utmost precipitation. But by this time our horse and dragoons had closed in upon them from both wings, and then followed a general carnage. The moor was covered with blood; and our men, what with killing the enemy, dabbling their feet in the blood, and splashing it about one another, looked like so many butchers."

"The success has been generally owing to three points of generalship, not thought of in the preceding actions; or, perhaps, then esteemed of little importance. The first is, the manner of placing the cannon. They were so disposed among the respective regiments, that no impression on any particular part of the line could divest us of any significant part of our artillery, and by being placed in the centre of each regiment, some pieces were always capable of flanking the enemy, let their attack be on which part of the line soever. This answered the end proposed effectually; and, as far as we could conceive, more of the enemy fell by the fire of the cannon with cartridge-shot from our right, than by the musketry and sword on the left. His Highness had likewise taken care to observe which way the wind sat. This may seem of little

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Battle of Culloden.

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importance to some people : but as many battles have been lost or gained by it on land, as well as at sea, and for exactly the same reason ; and as we have a very remarkable instance in our view, we cannot help esteeming it of consequence ; as those who have the wind, see the enemy clearly, and neither have their nostrils filled with sulphur, nor their faces burnt with wadding. The next was, the direction given about the use of the bayonet. The alteration was mighty little, but of the last consequence. Before this, the bayonet-man attacked the sword-man right fronting him : now the left-hand bayonet attacked the sword fronting his next right-hand man. He was then covered by the enemy's shield where open on his left, and the enemy's right open to him. This manner made an essential difference, staggered the enemy, who were not prepared to alter their way of fighting, and destroyed them in a manner rather to be conceived than told. When the rebels made some little impression on Barrel's regiment, its giving ground proved fatal to Lord Robert Ker ; who, not observing his men's giving back, remained a few yards forward alone. He had struck his pike into the body of a Highland officer : but before he could disengage himself, was surrounded, and cut to pieces."

The Macintosh regiment was the first which rushed forward to attack the royal army with their swords, and was supported by the Maclachlans,

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Incidents at the Battle.

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Macleans, Frasers, Stuarts, Camerons, \* and Atholmen; the latter regiment never closed with the

\* “ Most of the Chiefs who commanded these five regiments were killed, and almost every man in the front rank of each regiment. Maclachlan, Colonel of the united regiment, was killed by a cannon ball, and the Lieutenant-Colonel, Maclean of Drimnin, who succeeded to the command, bringing off his shattered regiment, and missing two of his sons, for he had three in the field, turned back to look for them, and was killed by a random shot. Macgillivray, of Drumnaglass, Colonel of the Macintosh regiment, was killed in the attack, with the Lieutenant-Colonel, the Major, and all the officers of his regiment, three excepted. Charles Fraser, younger of Inverallachie, who was Lieutenant-Colonel, and commanded the Fraser regiment, was killed. The Master of Lovat (afterwards General Fraser), Colonel of the Fraser regiment, was not present at the battle; but having gone to his father's country, which is near Inverness, to bring up the men wanted to complete his regiment (to which a second battalion had been added), he was coming up with three hundred men; and when half-way between Inverness and Culloiden, he met the Highlanders flying from the field. The Stuart regiment had a number, both officers and men, killed in the attack; but Stuart of Appin, their chief, never having joined the standard of Charles, the regiment was commanded by Stuart of Ardshiel, who escaped from the field. Cameron of Lochiel, advancing at the head of his regiment, was so near Barrel's, that he had fired his pistol, and was drawing his sword, when he fell, wounded with grape-shot in both ankles. The two brothers, between whom he was advancing, raised him up, and carried him off in their arms. When the Macdonalds regiment retreated, without having attempted to attack sword in hand, Macdonald of Keppoch advanced with his drawn sword in one hand, and his pistol in the other; he had got but a little way from his regiment, when he was wounded by a musket shot, and fell. A friend who had followed, conjuring him not to throw his life away, said that the wound was not mortal, that he



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Order of Battle.

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King's troops, for so destructive was the fire to which it was exposed, that it lost thirty-two officers and a great many men in advancing, which made it stop short. The regiments on the left, consisting of the Farquharsons and the Macdonald brigade, did not advance at the same time; they however had returned a fire on the regiments opposite them, and had drawn their swords for the attack, when, observing their right in confusion, they retreated. \*

Previous to the battle, the King's army was drawn up in two lines. The front line, from left to right, consisted of Barrel's, Monro's (now Dejeans), Campbell's (Scots fusileers), Price's, Cholmondeley's, the Royal, and Pulteney's regiments, covered by Kingston's horse, and part of Cobham's dragoons; and the second line, of Wolfe's, Ligonier's (now Conway's), Sempill's, Bligh's (now Sackville's), Fleming's, Howard's (Old Buffs), Blakeney's, and Battereau's regiments. The rest of

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might easily join his regiment, and retreat with them. Keppoch desired him to take care of himself, and going on, received another shot, and fell to rise no more."—*HOME's History of the Rebellion.*

\* "The Macdonald officers said, and Macdonald of Morar (eldest cadet of Clanronald) has left it in writing, that their men were affronted at being deprived of the right (the post of honour), which the Macdonalds had at the battles of Preston and Falkirk, and have had, they say, from time immemorial. The Duke of Perth, in the battle of Culloden, stood at the head of the Glengary regiment; and hearing the men murmur (for they murmured aloud), said to them, that if the Macdonalds behaved with their usual valour, they would make a right of the left, and he would call himself Macdonald."—*Ibid.*

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Order of Battle.

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Cobham's and Ker's dragoons, were a small space to the left of the lines, and a little farther advanced. Pulteney's, Blakeney's, and Battereau's, were originally the corps-de-reserve, but at the beginning of the battle were formed in the above order. The Highland army was likewise drawn up in two lines. The front line, from right to left, consisted of the Atholmen, Camerons, Appin Stuarts, Frasers, Macintoshes, Maclachlans and Macleans, Roy Stuart's, Farquharsons, Clanronalds, Kepochs, Glengarys, (the three last are Macdonalds); and at a little distance on the left, guards and hussars. The second line consisted of Lord Ogilvie's and Lord Lewis Gordon's men; the centre division of Glenbucket's, the Duke of Perth's, and Lord John Drummond's; and the division on the left, of Fitzjames's, and the Irish brigade.\* Prince Charles placed himself on a small eminence behind the centre division.

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\* "Notwithstanding the number of regiments mentioned in this order of battle, Patullo, muster master of the rebel army, makes the number of their men in the field to have been only five thousand: for (says he,) although there were eight thousand men upon paper, three thousand were absent. Lord Cromarty was in Sutherland with his own regiment. He had also with him, Glengyle, Mackinnon, Barrisdale, and their men. Clunie, with the Macphersons, was on his march to Culloden, and at no great distance when the battle was fought. Besides these regiments, and considerable bodies of troops, a good number of men from every regiment, when they came back to Culloden after the night march, had gone to Inverness and other places in quest of food, and were not returned when the King's army came in sight of the rebels."—HOME's *History of the Rebellion*.

## Order of Battle.

## THE HIGHLAND ARMY.

Duke of PERTH.

Lord JOHN DRUMMOND.

Lord GEORGE MURRAY.

|| || || ||

600

Glengary

800

Keppoch

250

Clanronald

300

Farquharson

800

Roy Stuart

300

and Maclean

|| || || ||

600

Macintosh

400

Lovat

300

Appin

600

Lochiel

700

Athol

|| || || ||

600

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Left flank, 460.

Ld. John Drummond's.

Right flank, 400.

Picquets, by Stapleton.

Guards, hussars,  
and Perthshire  
squadron.

Prince CHARLES.

Fitzjames's  
horse.

First Column, 800.

Second Column, 800.

Third Column, 800.

Those of the above who  
have only guns, and  
Kilmarnock's guards.Ld. Lewis Gordon's and Glenbucklet's  
to be ready to succour when needful.Those of the above who  
have only guns.The D. of Perth's reg. and Ld. Ogilvie's,  
not to fire without positive order, and to  
keep close as a fresh corps-de-reserve 800.

Park Wall broke down by the Argyllshire-men.

Order of Battle.

THE KING'S ARMY.

<b>DRAGOONS.</b>	<b>FOOT.</b>	<b>DRAGOONS.</b>
Col. Lord ANCRUM.	Lieut.-Gen. Earl of ALBEMARLE.	Maj.-Gen. BLAND.
Ker Cob. Barrel 00 Monro 00 Sc. Fusil. 00 Price 00 Cholmy. 00 Royal 00 Pulteney Cob. King.		

Duke of CUMBERLAND.

Maj.-Gen. HUSKE.	Brig. MORDAUNT.
Wolfe 000 Ligonr. Sempill Bligh 000 Fleming Howard Battereau	

Blakeney

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Order of Battle.

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The right of the Highland army was outflanked by the front line of the King's, which extended farther south.

Other accounts represent the Highland army as drawn up thus. The front line, from right to left, was composed of Atholmen, Locheil's, Appin's, Roy Stuart's, and Lovat's, in the right wing, commanded by Lord George Murray; the Macintoshes, and Farquharson's, in the centre, commanded by Lord John Drummond, and the Maclean's, Macleods, Chisholms, Clanronald's men, Keppoch's, Glengary's, and Perth's, in the left wing, commanded by the Duke of Perth. Behind the centre of the front, there was a second line, consisting of the Irish piquets, the French Royal Scots, and the foot guards (Kilmarnock's), commanded by Brigadier Stapleton. This second line was supported by two columns, on the right and left. The column behind the right of the front consisted of Lord Lewis Gordon's men, commanded, under him, by Stoneywood and Abbochy. The column behind the left of the front, consisted of Perth's regiment, Bannerman of Elsick's men, and Glenbucket's; but Perth's was drawn forward to the front upon its being outflanked by the King's front. The two columns were covered on their outflanks by the horse. Prince Charles was between the front and the second line, guarded by a small party of Fitzjames's horse. Behind the second line was the reserve, composed of Lord Ogilvie's men, and commanded by him.

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Incidents at the Battle.

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When the Highlanders began to fly, Charles advanced to rally them, but as that would have been impossible, General Sullivan laid hold of the bridle of his horse, and turned him about. He then put himself at the head of the right wing, which retired in such order, that the cavalry sent to pursue them could make no impression. During the action, he behaved with great courage and sedateness. Just before it began, he rode along the line, and through the ranks of the army, encouraging the men both by his voice and action: in the engagement, some cannon-balls broke ground so near him, that his face was bespattered with dirt, and a groom and several people about him were killed.

Lochiel, being wounded in both legs, was carried off the field by four of his men, and put into a barn; and as these men were taking off his own clothes, and putting on others, to disguise him, a party of dragoons surrounded the barn, but were ordered away suddenly, just as they were going into it. The dragoons were no sooner gone, than his men set him on horseback, and carried him that night to Cluny's house in Badenoch, where he continued till next morning, and then went to Lochaber; when he left the barn, he dismissed two of the men, but kept the other two to hold him on horseback.

On the 19th, the Duke of Perth, and Lord John Drummond were at Garriemore, within twelve miles of Fort Augustus, on their way to Lochaber,

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The Earl of Cromartie defeated and taken.

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attended only by their servants. The latter ordered the horse of Fitzjames's regiment, who had followed the Prince and him out of the battle, to return to Inverness, and surrender themselves prisoners; and the general and last order given by the Highland officers to their men, was to shift for themselves. Hundreds of the Highlanders who died in their wounds, and of hunger, were found in the hills at twelve, fourteen, or twenty miles distance from the field of battle.

The party commanded by the Earl of Cromartie was attacked on the 15th, at Golspie, by Lord Sutherland's people, and routed; only fifty escaped. About forty of them were killed or drowned; some were wounded; the Earl, his son, some officers, and upwards of one hundred and fifty private men, were made prisoners: and about L.1200 in cash was seized. None of Lord Sutherland's people were killed, and but few wounded.

The following is a list of the prisoners:—

The Earl of Cromartie, Lord Macleod, his son; Lieutenant-Colonel Kendal, in the Spanish service; Captain Mackenzie, brother to Ballon; Captain Roderick Macculloch of Glastulich; Lieutenant Roderick Macdonald, brother to Keppoch; Lieutenant Alexander Mackenzie, brother to Dundonald; Lieutenant Alexander Mackenzie of Corrie; George St Clair of Gees; Hector Campbell in Caithness; Hector Mackenzie; Lieutenant James Macrae, in the Spanish service; and 152 private men.

The Earl, Lord Macleod his son, with other prisoners, were brought in from Sutherland by the Hound Sloop, which the Duke of Cumberland sent for them.

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Great rejoicings on account of the victory.

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After the overthrow of the Highlanders on Culloden moor, the King's army encamped at Inverness. Mr Grant, with six hundred of his followers, joined them on the 21st; and they were ordered to be quartered in the Macintoshes' country. The Grants having taken Lord Balmerino, delivered him up to the Duke. He was the person who, after the battle of Dunblain 1715, deserted to the rebels at Perth. He was then Captain Elphinston of Shannon's foot.

There were very extraordinary public rejoicings on account of this victory; and in the capital cities of both parts of the kingdom they happened to be on one and the same day, the 24th; being that on which Lord Bury arrived at London, and the account brought by the King's messenger was published at Edinburgh. Congratulatory addresses were presented to his Majesty, by both Houses of Parliament, and from all parts of Great Britain, on this occasion. The Lords and Commons ordered their public thanks to be transmitted by their respective speakers, to the Duke, for the great and eminent services performed by him; and, with the approbation of his Majesty, they settled an additional revenue of L.25,000 a-year on his Royal Highness, and the heirs-male of his body, chargeable on the aggregate fund, as an augmentation of his former revenue of L.15,000, payable out of the civil list.

The detachment under the command of Brigadier Mordaunt, sent into the Frasers' country on



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Measures taken to repress the Highlanders.

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the 18th, burnt Lord Lovat's house, and carried off horses, cows, sheep, meal, &c. which were brought into Inverness, and distributed for the use of the army.

The Lord President arrived at Inverness from the isle of Skye on the 26th of April. About this time, the Earl of Loudon, the Laird of Macleod, and Sir Alexander Macdonald, (who had raised his clan before the battle) with seventeen hundred men, and General Campbell with eight hundred men from Argyllshire, were marched towards Lochaber, in order to clear that country of the enemy; upwards of six hundred Grants were sent into the Fraser's country; the Monroes, Mackays, and Sutherlands were taking care of Ross-shire, Cromarty, Caithness, and Sutherland; Lord Fortrose was raising the Mackenzies, to secure the passages towards the isles; orders were given along the coast, to prevent any of the Highlanders making their escape by sea; Cobham's dragoons marched from Inverness on the 23d of April, and Lord Ancrum with Mark Ker's on the 30th, to guard the eastern coast; the militia in several places were raised to guard the passes; those of Stirling were posted at the Frew; detachments of the Edinburgh regiment were sent out along the south side of the Forth, to the west of Edinburgh, and on the 29th, seized at Queensferry, and sent into town, one Robert Murray, writer in Edinburgh, a life-guards-man in the Highland army. A proclamation was issued by the Duke, for seizing all discontented persons

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A great many Persons apprehended.

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and their arms: in short all methods were used for apprehending the disaffected, and with such success, that in most parts of the kingdom the prisons were very soon crowded with them.

About the beginning of May, a considerable number of prisoners were brought into Inverness by the Grants, and three ships were lying off that town for their reception. The Earls of Cromartie and Kilmarnock, and Lord Balmerino, were sent on board the Exeter man-of-war, arrived at London on the 20th, and were committed prisoners to the Tower for high treason. Lord Macleod was left at Inverness.

On the 30th April, the Marquis of Tullibardine, and one Mitchell an Italian, who said he had been thirty years in the service of the Prince, surrendered themselves to Mr Buchanan of Drumakill, a justice of the peace, and were by him committed to the castle of Dunbarton. The Marquis was put on board the Eltham at Leith on the 13th of May. Count Miobel, a French officer, and engineer-general to the Highland army; Sir James Kinloch, his brother, and his brother-in-law; Henry Ker of Gradyne, and others, were likewise taken, in different places, about the beginning of May; and Mr William Murray of Taymount, brother to the Earl of Dunmore, surrendered himself to a justice of the peace in the shire of Mearns.

Some of the Highland officers, with design to make their escape, got on board the ship of James Wemyss, of the north ferry of Dundee, as she was

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*Barbarity of the Soldiery.*

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riding off the lights of the Tay, and having put to sea, landed at Bergen in Norway. But orders having been given by the King of Denmark to inspect all British vessels that should come into his ports, and to confine all passengers that had not proper passports, the officers were apprehended the 13th of May, and committed prisoners to the castle of Bergen, by order of the Governor, to the number of thirteen; among whom were, David Graham of Duntroon, called Lord Dundee, Lord Ogilvy, Fletcher of Benschie, Hunter of Burnside, David Fotheringham, the late Governor of Dundee, David Graham, merchant in Dundee, his son Alexander, Henry Patullo, — Sandilands, younger of Bourdeaux, merchant, Thomas Blair, merchant in Dundee, and Alexander Blair, writer in Edinburgh. They were shortly afterwards allowed to escape to France.

The Duke of Cumberland, with the main body of his army, marched from Inverness on the 23d of May, for Fort Augustus, where he arrived the next day, and from whence he sent parties all round the Highlands. Wherever these came, they left nothing that belonged to the inhabitants, carrying fire and sword through the country, and driving off the cattle, which were brought in in great numbers, sometimes two thousand in a drove, by which the people were in a most deplorable state, and perished either by sword or famine. Lochiel's house, at Achnacary, was burnt on the 28th of May; Kinlochmoidart's (who had been a prisoner

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Barbarity of the Soldiery.

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at Edinburgh since November,) Keppoch's, Glengary's, and Cluny's, were served in the same manner. Vast numbers of the common people's houses or huts, were likewise laid in ashes; all the cattle, sheep, goats, &c. were carried off; and several poor people, especially women and children, were found dead in the hills, supposed to be starved. A body of seven hundred troops entered Balquhiddy, and proceeded to the Braes of Monteith, in search of Glengyle; but not finding him, they burnt his house, and all the houses in Craigroyston possessed by the Macgregors, and carried the cattle to Crief. Even places of worship were not exempt from the ravages of the unprincipled soldiery; several mass-houses about Strathbogie were pulled down by them; some non-jurant Episcopal meeting-houses were likewise burnt and destroyed, and they were generally shut up all over the kingdom. Amidst this desolation, on which the mind cannot reflect without horror, in which a brave and gallant people were indiscriminately massacred, as if they had not been subjects of the state, but beasts of the chase, their habitations destroyed, and their estates and goods plundered; the commander-in-chief, whose presence, it may be presumed would have checked the atrocities committed under his name, or at least whose duty so imperiously called on him to restrain his barbarous troops in their thirst for blood, was amusing himself and his staff with foot and horse races!

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Manner in which the Duke spent his time.

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A letter from Fort Augustus, of June 27, gave these particulars :—" Last Wednesday the Duke gave two prizes to the soldiers to run heats for, on bare-backed Galloways, taken from the rebels ; when eight started for the first, and ten for the second prize. These Galloways are little larger than a good tup, and there was excellent sport. Yesterday his Royal Highness gave a fine Holland smock to the soldiers' wives, to be run for on these Galloways, also bare-backed, and riding with their limbs on each side of the horse, like men. Eight started ; and there were three of the finest heats ever seen. The prize was won, with great difficulty, by one of the Old Buffs' ladies. In the evening, General Hawley and Colonel Howard run a match for twenty guineas, on two of the above shalties ; which General Hawley won by about four inches."

Fourteen colours, taken at Culloden, were brought to Edinburgh on the 31st of May, and lodged in the castle. On Wednesday the 4th of June, at noon, they were brought down to the Cross, Prince Charles's own standard carried by the hangman, and the rest by chimney sweepers, escorted by a detachment of Lee's regiment. The Sheriffs, attended by the heralds, pursuivants, trumpets, city-constables, &c. and escorted by the city-guard, walked out from the Parliament Close to the Cross ; where proclamation was made by the eldest herald, "That the colours belonging to the rebels were ordered by the Duke to be burnt

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The Standards of the Highland Army burnt.

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by the hands of the common hangman." The Prince's own standard was then put in a fire prepared for the purpose, and afterwards all the rest, one by one, a herald always proclaiming to whom each belonged, the trumpets sounding, and the populace, of which there was a great number assembled, huzzaing. A fifteenth standard was burnt at Edinburgh, with like solemnity, and another at Glasgow, on the 25th.

About the beginning of June, one Catanach, servant to Mr Ogilvy of Kenny, in Angus, who had been in the Highland army with his master, was apprehended by some of St George's dragoons, and in a short time after set at liberty. Being afterwards observed to go and come once or twice between the place of his former residence and Lieutenant-Colonel Arabin's quarters, he was suspected of having become an informer, and was barbarously murdered on the 11th. Francis Anderson and Andrew Fithie in Kenny, and Barbara Coutts, servant to Mr Ogilvy, suspected of being the murderers, were apprehended, brought to Edinburgh prison, and indicted.

On the 10th of June, the transports, with the Hessian troops on board, under the command of the Earl of Crawford, sailed from Leith roads, and in a few days arrived at Williamstadt.

Great diligence was used to discover and seize disaffected persons, and to prevent their escaping out of the kingdom. To help to discover them, the clergy were desired to give in lists of all those

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Lord Lovat, Secretary Murray, &c. apprehended.

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in their respective parishes that had or that had not joined Prince Charles. A few complied: but others declined it; among whom, as we are informed, were the ministers of Edinburgh, notwithstanding the arguments used by Sir Everard Fawkenor, to persuade them to comply. And to prevent any persons escaping out of the kingdom, rewards were offered for apprehending such of them as should land or attempt to land in Ireland, and care was taken by the British ministers at foreign courts, in alliance with his Majesty, to have any of them apprehended that should land in their territories.

Some time in July, an advertisement was published at the churches in the city and county of Aberdeen, in substance as follows:—"By the Earl of Ancrum, aid-de-camp to his Majesty, and commanding the forces on the eastern coast of North-Britain,—Whereas arms have been found in several houses, contrary to his Royal Highness the Duke's proclamation, this is therefore to give notice,—That whatever arms of any kind are found, that the house, and all houses belonging to the proprietor or his tenants, shall be immediately burnt to ashes; and that as some arms have been found under ground, that if any shall be discovered for the future, the adjacent houses and fields shall be immediately laid waste and destroyed."

Several suspected persons, were made prisoners; particularly Lord Lovat, Sir James Stewart of Burray, Macniell of Bara, Secretary Murray, Lau-

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Lord Lovat, Secretary Murray, &c. apprehended.

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rence Mercer, son to Sir Laurence Mercer of Aldie, deceased, &c. The three first were never actually engaged in the rebellion. Lady Ogilvy, taken at Culloden, was brought to Edinburgh by a party of soldiers, and committed to the castle on the 15th of June.

The following particulars were related concerning Secretary Murray. Upon information (from a herd of Kilbucco's) that Mr Murray had dined at Kilbucco on Friday June 27th, and had that night gone to the house of Mr Hunter of Polmood, who married Mr Murray's sister, John Smith, serjeant in St George's dragoons, and seven private men, then under his command at Broughton, Mr Murray's seat, was ordered thither with a guide, and at three o'clock on Saturday morning he seized Mr Murray at Polmood. He was carried to Edinburgh by the same party, and committed close prisoner to the castle about twelve o'clock on Saturday night, by order of the Lord Justice-Clerk. Mr Murray, upon his examination, declared, that Prince Charles, with Sullivan and O'Neil, both Irish, and no other person in company, did, about four days after the battle of Culloden, go off from Moidart in an open boat, in order to get on board a ship; but that he himself being at that time indisposed, was not able to go with them; that he had been mostly with Lochiel and his uncle Major Kennedy, and his brother, in a starving way, lying on the sides of hills all day, and travelling or wandering all the night, with scouts at a mile



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Lord Lovat, Secretary Murray, &c. apprehended.

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or a half a mile's distance, never daring to stay two nights in one place; that Lochiel was very ill wounded in the heel, and obliged to use a horse; that he himself, unable to bear fatigue and want any longer, crossed the hill, without a servant, and came by Monteith to the place where he was taken.

Lord Lovat was apprehended by a detachment of the garrison of Fort William, commanded by Captain Millar, which the Duke sent on board the *Furnace* and *Terror* sloops, to make descents on the coasts of Knoidart and Arisaig. In one of those descents they got intelligence of his Lordship, and after three days search, had the fortune to find him in a hollow tree. He was brought in to the camp at Fort Augustus on Sunday the 15th of June, on a horse-litter, and about fifty more prisoners; among whom was Hugh Fraser his secretary, his cook, a young girl, and four Lancashire men. The following has been published as a letter from his Lordship to the Duke, dated at Fort William, June 12:—

“SIR.—This letter is most humbly addressed to your Royal Highness by the very unfortunate Simon Lord Fraser of Lovat.

“I durst not presume to solicit or petition your Royal Highness for any favour, if it was not well known to the best people in this country attached to the government, such as the Lord President, &c. and by those that frequented the court at that time, that I did more essential service to your royal family, in suppressing the great rebellion in the year 1715, with the hazard of my life, and the loss of my only brother, than any of my rank in Scotland: for which I had three letters of thanks from my royal master, by the hands

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Lord Lovat's Letter to the Duke of Cumberland.

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of the Earl of Stanhope, then Secretary of State; in which his Majesty strongly promised to give me such marks of his favour, as would oblige all the country to be faithful to him. Therefore the gracious King was as good as his word to me; for as soon as I arrived at court, and was introduced to the King by the late Duke of Argyll, I came by degrees to be as great a favourite as any Scotsman about the court: and I often carried your Royal Highness in my arms, in the parks of Kensington and Hampton court, to hold you up to your royal grandfather, that he might embrace you; for he was very fond of you and of the young Princesses. Now, Sir, all that I have to say in my present circumstance is, that your Royal Highness will be pleased to extend your goodness towards me, in a generous and compassionate manner, in my present deplorable situation; and if I have the honour to kiss your Royal Highness's hand, I will easily demonstrate to you, that I can do more service to the King and government, than the destroying a hundred such old and very infirm men like me, past eighty, without the least use of my hands, legs, and knees, can be of advantage in any shape to the government.

"Your royal father, our present sovereign, was very kind to me in the year, 1715. I presented, on my knees, to his Majesty, a petition in favour of the Laird of Macintosh, to obtain a protection for him, which he most graciously granted me; and he gave it to Charles Cathcart, then groom of the bed-chamber, and ordered him to deliver it into my hands, that I might give it to the Laird of Macintosh. This was but one testimony of several marks of goodness his Majesty was pleased to bestow on me, while the King was at Hanover; and I hope I shall feel the same compassionate blood runs in your Royal Highness's veins.

"Major-General Campbell told me, that he had the honour to acquaint your Royal Highness, that he was sending me to Fort William, and that he begged of your Royal Highness to order a litter to be made for me, to carry me towards Fort Augustus, as I am in such a condition that I am not able to stand, walk, or ride. I am, &c.

"LOVAT."

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Several persons apprehended.

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The troops continued their diligence in searching for Prince Charles's followers through the hills and isles, and in distressing their estates. In this service, the Highlanders under the command of Major-General Campbell and the Earl of Loudon, were much employed. Upon information that some of the chiefs were in a wood near Garvamore, a party was sent in quest of them; but they getting notice of their approach, made off; as the soldiers had a river to cross they could not come up with them, however they fired on them, and wounded one man; the soldiers afterwards burnt the hut, which was a curiosity, being of wicker-work, and consisting of eleven different apartments, with a fireplace in each; they found in it a lemon cut through, on a table, some bottles of different kinds of liquors, a fowling-piece, and a few other trifles.

About the beginning of July, a party of Hamilton's dragoons fell upon a party of Highlanders that had come down to the braes of Angus for provisions, routed them, killed a few, and carried seven prisoners into Dundee, among whom was Patrick Lindsay, formerly a captain in the Highland army. And on the 15th, seven were surprised in a hut in the braes of Lenny, by the Perth volunteers, under the command of Captain James Campbell and Ensign Daniel Maceuen. The volunteers having surrounded the hut, were fired at from the door and two windows, which they returned. When the firing had continued briskly about fifteen minutes, the men within the hut

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Several persons apprehended.

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being all wounded except one, surrendered, and were carried prisoners to Stirling, viz. Major Stewart,\* brother to Ardvorlich, Captain Malcolm Macgregor of Comour, Captain Donald MacIaren, Serjeant King, alias Macree, late of Lord John Murray's regiment, and three private men. The volunteers received no hurt.

The main body of the army was still at Fort Augustus; but parties were constantly in motion to scour the country, and the utmost diligence was used for seizing Prince Charles.

In hunting the Prince, besides O'Neil, the old Laird of Macinnon, and three priests, one of them Lochiel's brother, were taken by Captain Macneil, of the Argyllshire militia; as was the Lieutenant-Colonel of Clanronald's regiment, and his servants, found in a cave by a party of Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell's men; and Captain Ronald Macdonald, Kinlochmoidart's brother, by Captain Noble. Alexander Macdonald of Kingsburgh, Sir Alexander Macdonald's factor, was carried to Fort Augustus, and laid in irons, for having concealed the Prince three days in his house, and aided his escape.

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\* Major Stewart when prisoner in Stirling was visited by General Guest, when the following conversation took place: "Major Stewart, did you cause your men fire upon the King's army?" The gallant wounded officer, lying upon straw, raising and supporting himself upon his arm, replied, "No, General Guest, I caused my men fire upon the Elector of Hanover's army."

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The Duke of Cumberland returns to London.

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This gentleman was afterwards carried south by a party of Kingston's horse, and committed to the castle of Edinburgh on the 2d of August.

On the 18th of July, the Duke set out from Fort Augustus on his return for London, and arrived at St James's on the 25th, leaving the Earl of Albemarle commander in chief in Scotland.

About the end of July, a great many prisoners were ordered for Carlisle; among whom was Sir Archibald Primrose of Dunipace, who was carried into Aberdeen two or three weeks before. Lord Lovat arrived at Edinburgh on the 20th, guarded by a party of Mark Ker's dragoons, and proceeded for London on the 22d. As his Lordship could not stand or walk, his guard had him to lift out of and into a coach. The Earl of Kellie surrendered himself to the Lord Justice-Clerk at Edinburgh, on the 11th of July, and was committed to the castle; so that the attainder did not take place with respect to his Lordship.

Secretary Murray was carried from Edinburgh for London, on the 7th of July, where he arrived on the 19th, and was committed to the Tower. On the 24th, at night, the Lord Chancellor, and the two Secretaries of State, the Duke of Newcastle, and the Earl of Harrington, went to the Tower, and staid till early next morning; during which time Mr Murray was under examination, and it was expected great discoveries would be made. Accordingly, on the 26th, Barry a physician was taken into custody, and all his papers seized; near

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Narrative of Prince Charles's Wanderings.

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twenty messengers were sent to divers parts of the country; and Sir John Douglas of Kilhead, member for Dumfries-shire, was taken up at Edinburgh on the 28th at night, and carried off for London on the 31st, by a messenger and a guard.

During all this time, Prince Charles was wandering about the mountains and islands, exposed to all the inconveniencies of cold, hunger, thirst, and weariness, yet through the whole course of his distresses, he maintained the most amazing equanimity and good humour. After the Highlanders gave way at Culloden, he was forced off the field by Major Kennedy, and the other officers, while the French forces, and some of the clans, kept the English army for some time at bay, to prevent an immediate pursuit.

A great number of gentlemen went to guard the Prince safe off, and crossed the river Nairn, four miles from Inverness; where a council was held, wherein it was agreed that Fitz-james's, and the rest of the horse, should go to Ruthven in Badenoch. Here it was the Prince first despaired, and desired the gentlemen to disperse, that their enemies might be baffled by the variety of their routes: and accordingly, the Honourable Charles Boyd, second son to the Earl of Kilmarnock, and some others, kissed the Prince's hand, and went off on their respective routes.

These, then, with some gentlemen, proceeded directly to Torda-rack, nine miles from Inverness; but that place having been abandoned, they were

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forced five miles farther to Aberarder, in Macintosh's country; thence to Faroline in Lovat's country, five miles; and thence one mile more to Castlelaige, or Gortulaigu, where they met, Lord Lovat, and drank a few glasses of wine.

Here Lord Elcho took his leave, and set forwards for Kinloch-Moidart, where he arrived a few days after the battle; not a little disgusted that greater deference had not been hitherto paid him.

Hither the Prince was attended by Sir Thomas Sheridan, Sir David Murray, aid-de-camp, Sullivan, Alexander Macleod, another aid-de-camp, and son of Mr John Macleod, Advocate, John Hay, Secretary in Murray's absence, Edward Burke, Alexander Macleod's man, Mr Hay's man, and Allan Macdonald, a priest, employed as a guide.

About ten at night, Charles, and his few attendants proceeded on their journey, and about four or five in the morning they arrived at Glengary, or Invergarry, castle, where they found only a man, who said Glengary and his family were absent, and had left no provisions or furniture in the house; so the Prince was obliged to lie for some time on the floor, without any refreshment.

When day-light appeared, Edward Burke, above mentioned, found a net, which he drew, and caught two salmon, on which they dined very well.

Here this company were ordered to disperse, and part took leave and route for Arnaby; the rest, Sullivan, Allan Macdonald, and Burke the guide, staying to attend the Prince.

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About two o'clock in the afternoon, the Prince set forward with his three companions, having dressed himself in Burke's clothes, and went to Donald Cameron's at Glen-Bean, in Lochiel's country, where they arrived about nine at night.

On the 18th, the Prince went to Mewboll, in Clanronald's country, where he staid all night; was well entertained, and got some sleep, which he had not had for five days and nights; he and his army having been in action, and under arms, marching and counter-marching, without sleep or much meat for forty-eight hours before the battle.

The next day being the 19th, the Prince waited some hours, in hopes of getting intelligence of some of his friends; but hearing nothing, he was obliged to set out on foot (the horse-road not only being about, but so bad as to be scarce, if at all, passable) and, therefore, walked over almost inaccessible mountains, to the Glen of Morar, or Kinloch-Morar, and thence to Boisdale, or Boradale, in Arisaig, Clanronald's country, through as bad ways as can be conceived. Hither Mr Eneas Macdonald, the banker, came to the Prince, who had wrote for him, and returned again the same night to his brother's house at Kinloch-Moidart. About two days after that, Lord Elcho and O'Neil got to Kinloch-Moidart.

Here the Prince waited several days, till Captain O'Neil came to him, by Sir Thomas Sheridan's directions, and told him that all hopes of drawing his troops together again were now over; upon



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which he resolved at last to go to the western islands, whence he thought he could get a vessel for France.

Strong were the debates here about quitting the continent of Scotland, for the isles: the Highlanders were against so dangerous a step, but, at last, Sullivan's advice, whose head had injured his master more than once, prevailed; asserting a greater probability of getting ships about the isles, and the great danger of staying on the continent: but the Prince following this advice, had like to have lost his life many ways and times, as we shall find in the sequel.

In one day three several messengers got to Donald Macleod, who had been with Mr Eneas Macdonald to the isles, to fetch some money from the isle of Barra, and was returning when the battle was ended; these three were sent to order Macleod to repair to the Prince at Boradale.

Pursuant to this summons, Donald went, and in going through a wood, on the 20th or 21st of April, met the Prince alone. The Prince, seeing Donald, advanced boldly and asked Who was he? what was he? which Donald answering said, "My name is Donald Macleod." "Oh, thou art Donald Macleod of Gualtergill, in the isle of Sky?" "Yes," said Donald. "Then," said the Prince, "you see the distress I am in, I therefore throw myself into your bosom, and do with me what you like; I am your Prince."

In repeating these words, the poor old man

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burst into a flood of tears, and said, "I hope, sir, (to the person he was relating this to) you'll pardon me, for who could refrain from tears at so doleful a thought? Oh! had you seen but the man, and the place, and the distress; oh! it would have moved the Grand Turk." Donald, having wiped his eyes, proceeded, and said, he told the Prince, that as he, (Macleod) was old, he was afraid he could be of no use, but yet was willing to do what he could. "Then," says the Prince, "I desire you'll go with these letters from me to Sir Alexander Macdonald, and the Laird of Macleod: for I still think those gentlemen, notwithstanding what they have done, will have humanity and honour enough to give their protection to the wretched, whose crime is only bad luck and misfortune."

These generous sentiments acting so powerfully in the breast of a Prince, so as to give him a confidence in the honour and humanity of any one who is a gentleman, had struck Donald with surprise, and he immediately cried out, "O! sir, I would do any thing for you but this. Your Highness knows they have played the rogue already, and you must not trust them again; for at this very time, they are in search for you, with their forces; and are within ten or twelve miles of you, if they come by sea, though it is more by land; therefore the sooner you remove from this place the better."

Upon Donald's counsel, as above, the Prince desired, That as he was a good pilot he would

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Thus the storm, which the whole crew thought a great misfortune at first, turned to be one of the most providential things that could happen ; but so wanton is the frailty of human nature, that we often find fault with that which Providence sees best for us ; for this storm prevented any immediate attempt to pursue the Prince, and all the boats that were out with such views were forced to put into land ; as nothing but the immediate hand of Providence could support this open boat, against such weather ; which looked to the boatmen as miraculous as the escape of Jonas out of the whale's belly ; very luckily for the Prince it was thought that he had sailed for St Kilda in the north ; a place so remote, that no suspicion could be readily entertained of his being there. \*

It being imagined that the Prince was gone to St Kilda, General Campbell, with a considerable force, was ordered to pursue him there. On the sight of Campbell's fleet, the inhabitants fled to hide themselves in the cliffs of rocks, being terrified, having never seen such a fleet or sight before.

Some of the forces having landed, inquired of such of the inhabitants as they could find, what was become of the Pretender ? They answered, They had never heard of such a name or such a man. They said indeed, they heard a report that

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\* This place belongs to the Laird of Macleod, and the people there pay, their rents in feathers of the solan geese, for which that laird's factor goes thither annually.

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their laird (Macleod) had lately been at war with a great king, a great way abroad, but that he had got the better; and that was all they knew of the affairs of the world." So the general made a fruitless expedition.

The Prince here (in Benbecula) got on shore into an uninhabited hut, and helped to make a fire to warm the crew, who were almost perished with cold and wet. This storm continued for fourteen hours after they landed.

Here the Prince bought a cow for 30s. and immediately shot her; and had some of her boiled in the pot which Donald Macleod had bought for them. After which the Prince lay down on the floor, having no other bed than an old sail-cloth, and slept very sound; but the crew were obliged to keep a good look-out by regular watches.

They staid two nights in this place, and on the 29th in the evening, the weather growing favourable, they set sail about six o'clock for Stornaway, in the isle of Lewis, where Macleod did not doubt but he should be able to procure a proper vessel to convey the Prince safe into France. They took some of their beef with them, and set sail, but meeting with another storm, they were obliged to put into the little isle of Scalpay or Glass, near the Harris, belonging to the Laird of Macleod which is about fourteen leagues north of Benbecula.

Here they all went on shore about two hours before day-light, on the 30th in the morning, and passed for merchants shipwrecked in their voyage

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to the Orkneys; the Prince and Sullivan going by the name of Sinclair, the latter for the father, and the former for the son; and were well entertained at one Donald Campbell's house, a farmer.

The next day, May 1st, Donald Macleod, so often mentioned, procuring a boat of their landlord Campbell, went to Stornaway, with instructions to freight a vessel for the Orkneys.

On the 3d of May, the Prince received a message from Macleod, that a ship was ready; whereupon he next day got another boat with four men, and landed at Loch-Sheffort in Mackinnon's country, where Allan Macleod took his leave, and went for South Uist.

The Prince then having O'Neil, Sullivan, and his guide with him, set out on foot for Stornaway, which is about thirty miles by land; and arrived at the point of Arynish, about half a mile S. E. from Stornaway, on the 5th, about noon; having travelled eighteen hours on the hills in a wet stormy night, without any kind of refreshment, and were misled by their guide, either through ignorance or design, having conducted them eight miles out of the road, when they might have avoided that trouble, by crossing the ferry from Scalpay to the Harris, which is about a quarter of a mile over. This, though they then thought it a misfortune, yet proved to be the very providential means of preventing Charles from being taken, which, had they arrived there sooner, would have been the case.

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From this place Charles sent his guide to Donald Macleod at Stornaway, desiring he would send some brandy, bread, and cheese, for they were almost starved and famished. The faithful Donald soon brought it himself to him and his two companions on the moor, all wet to the skin, and much wearied with their journey. Wherefore Donald took them to Lady Kildun's (Mackenzie) at Arynish, to wait there till every thing should be ready for setting sail: being wearied, the Prince went to sleep.

This done, Donald Macleod returned to Stornaway, but was greatly surprised to find the men there rising in arms, above two hundred having already got up. Donald not knowing what was the occasion of this rising, went directly into the room where the gentlemen were, and asked what was the matter? on which they immediately began to curse him, saying, "We hear the Prince is upon Lewis, and not far from Stornaway, coming with five hundred men, to burn the town, and take away our cattle, &c. and to force a vessel from Stornaway, to carry him to France." Donald replied, "I think you are all mad, where the devil could the Prince, in his present condition, get either five hundred or one hundred men?" They replied, "That Mr John Macaulay, a presbyterian minister, in South Uist, had wrote this to his father in the Harris; and that the father had sent the same to Mr Collin Mackenzie, minister in the

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Lewis.\* “Well then,” says Donald, “since you know the Prince is already in the island, I own he is; but he is so far from having any forces, that he has only two companions, and when I am there I make a third: and let me tell you farther, gentlemen, if Seaforth himself were here, he durst not, by G-d, put a hand to the Prince's breast.”

Upon this, the Mackenzies declared, that they had no intention to do the Prince any, even the least harm; but then desired he might leave them and go to the continent, or any where else: the wind being fair, Donald then desired a pilot, but they refused. Donald then returned to Charles, and gave him a full and honest account how matters stood; on which they were all at a loss what steps to take. Some proposed to fly to the moor; but Charles replied, he would not: “I'll stand my ground, (said he) for if we fly, our enemies may be encouraged to pursue.”

It is thus apparent, that had not Charles been taken eight miles out of the way by the guide, he would have been in the town of Stornaway, when Macaulay's letter to Mackenzie arrived, and then the people would have risen upon him, and have either killed him in their fury, or taken him prisoner; both which he thus providentially escaped.

At this time, the Prince, O'Neil, and Sullivan,

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\* This isle of Lewis belongs to Lord Seaforth, and is inhabited by the Mackenzies.

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had only six shirts amongst them, and were frequently obliged to strip off the wet ones before the others were half dry.

Two of the four boatmen had fled up to the moor, upon seeing the people rising at Stornaway; and the other two went to sea with the boat.

While they were at Lady Kildun's they killed a cow, for which Charles would have paid, but she at first refused, till he insisted upon it. When they left the place, they took some of the cow with them, two pecks of meal, and plenty of brandy and sugar; and at parting, Lady Kildun gave Edward Burke a lump of butter.\*

They staid here all night, and about two o'clock in the morning, being the 6th of May, the two boatmen returned with the boat: and as soon as day-light appeared, they all rowed away with only two boatmen, the others not returning from the moor.

The Prince and company resolved to go in Donald Campbell's boat to the Orkneys, but the men would not venture; so they were obliged to steer south along the coast side, hoping to meet with better success: but they soon espied two English ships, which obliged them to put into a desert island, called Euirn or Iffurt, being half a mile long and as much broad; and is twelve miles dis-

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\* This man was generally cook, but the Prince was the best cook, and made them a cake, or bread, of the brains of the cow, mixed up with meal, and baked it upon a stone before the fire.



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tant from Stornaway, and lies a little north of Scalpay or Glass.

At this place there were some fishermen, who taking the Prince's boat to be a press-boat belonging to the men of war, ran away, leaving their fish, pots, &c. The fishermen of Lewis dry their fish here upon the rocks; some of which Charles and his company found, which were a great feast. He at first was for leaving some money when he took the fish, as payment, but considering that it would shew that some person of note had been there, and might thereby be attended with bad consequences, he took up the money again.

They staid on this island till the 10th, lying in a low pitiful hut, like a hog-sty, belonging to the fishermen; so ill roofed, that they were obliged to spread the boat's sail over the top of it, and lie upon the bare floor, keeping watch by turns.

About ten in the forenoon of the 10th of May, they embarked for the Harris, taking about two dozen of fish with them, and got to Scalpay or Glass to their hospitable farmer's again, and in that place offered money to some men for a boat, it being safer and better than that which they had, but they could not get it.

No wind serving, they thence were obliged to row; but about break of day on the 11th, the wind rising, they hoisted sail; being short of food, they made drammack [stappack] with salt water mixed with meal, of which the Prince eat heartily,

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and took a bottle of brandy, and helped a dram to each person round.

Soon after this, they were chased by an English ship commanded by Captain Ferguson; but made their escape among the rocks, at the point of Roudil, in the Harris, in Macleod's country. The ship followed them three leagues; they then kept close in shore, and sailed to Lochmaddy to the south of the Uist; thence to Lochniskiway in Bendbecula, and thence to an island in that loch called Loch-Scibert, where they arrived about four in the afternoon.

In this voyage, they were within two musket shots of the ship before they saw her in Finslay in the Harris: they were to the windward, and the ship was in the mouth of the bay; so they made all the haste they could to the coast of Benbecula.

In this course, they saw another ship in Lochmaddy in North Uist. They had scarce got on shore, when the wind, very remarkably, turned quite contrary, and blew and rained very hard, and drove the ships that were pursuing quite off. At this, the Prince said, "I see I must now escape; I now see that Providence will not let me be taken alive this time."

It being low water, one of the boatmen went among the rocks, and caught a partan [a crab-fish] which he held up to shew to Charles in great joy, who then took up a cog [a wooden pail] in his hand, and running to the boatman, took share of the diversion, and they both soon filled the cog,

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There was no house, cottage, or hut, nearer than two miles, and that only a poor hut, whither they resolved to go. When they set out, Charles took up the cog full of partans, and marched away with it; but the faithful Donald Macleod soon ran after him, and desired leave to carry it, but he would not let him, saying, "If I carry this, Donald, then every one of the company will take more or less of our small baggage; and so it will be more equally divided amongst us; therefore I will not part with this, for I am better able to carry it than you:" and accordingly he carried it.

When they came to the hut, it was so low that they were obliged to creep into it upon their hands and knees: wherefore Edward Burke was ordered to work part of the ground away, about the door, to make the entrance easier.

At this hut the Laird of Clanronald went to pay his respects to Charles, and promised his assistance to get him safe out of the kingdom; towards which his lady afterwards assisted, for she sent Charles six good shirts, some brandy and wine, and every thing else that was necessary and comfortable, as we shall see in the sequel.

On the 16th, it was thought proper that Charles should remove from this nasty hut, and go sixteen miles farther into the country, as far as the mountain of Curradale or Coradale, in South Uist, and there wait till fortune would be more favourable; having first sent Donald Macleod in Campbell's boat to the continent of Scotland, with letters to

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Lochiel and John Murray, the secretary, to know how affairs stood; and Donald was to carry cash and brandy back with him to the Prince.

Donald met Lochiel and Murray at the head of Loch-Arkaig; but got no money from Murray, who said he had none to spare, for that he had only sixty louis-d'ors for himself.

Donald having received the answers from Lochiel and Murray, purchased two ankers of brandy at a guinea each, with some difficulty. At this time, says Donald, the Prince looked upon Murray to have been one of his honest, firm friends; but alas! how he was mistaken.

Donald immediately returned, and found the Prince at Coradale, where he had left him, having been eighteen days away upon this expedition; but found him in a better hut, with two cow-hides placed upon sticks, to prevent the rain from falling upon him when asleep. During Macleod's absence, the Prince diverted and supported himself and company with hunting, shooting, and fishing; for he used often to go down to the foot of the hill upon the shore, and there go on board a small boat, which was rowed a little way, and then with hand lines caught lyths, somewhat like a young cod; and also used to shoot deer and other game.

It is surprising to think that the Prince could be kept safe above three weeks in such a place, when upwards of one hundred people knew where he was; and his enemies were daily out upon the

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scout on all sides. Both Clanronald and his brother Boisdale saw the Prince at Coradale.

The militia about this time went to the island of Eriska, lying between the Islands of Barra and South Uist, which is about three miles long and one broad, and was the first British ground the Prince landed on. The militia having got thither, obliged the Prince and company to think of parting, and shifting their quarters.

On the 14th of June the Prince, O'Neil, Sullivan, Edward Burke, and Donald Macleod, sailed from the foot of Coradale, in Campbell's boat, and landed in Ouia or Fovaya, a small island between South Uist and Benbecula.

Here they staid four nights, and on the 18th, the Prince, O'Neil, and a guide, went to Rossinish, and Sullivan and Macleod were left in Ouia. Here the Prince staid two nights; and then received information, that the militia were coming towards Benbecula; which made it necessary to get back again to the foot of Coradale: but he scarce knew what to do, as the militia boats had been some time between Ouia and Rossinish. Macleod and Sullivan hearing of this, set sail in the night, and brought the Prince from Rossinish to Coradale again; but meeting with a violent storm, and heavy rain, they were forced into Uishness-point, two miles and a half north of Coradale, called Achkirside-allich, a rock upon the shore, in a cleft of which they took up their quarters. This storm lasted a whole day.

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At night, finding their enemies within two miles of them, they sailed again, and arrived safely at Celiestiella, from whence they steered towards Loch-Boisdale, when one on board swore there was a long boat before them in their way, no doubt full of marines, so would go no farther, although Donald Macleod was positive to the contrary, assuring them that it was nothing but a little rock in the water, which he knew very well, and which had the appearance of a boat at a distance; but yet the sailors would not believe him; so they returned back again to Celiestiella, and staid there that night, and next day got to Loch-Boisdale, where they got the disagreeable news of Boisdale's being made prisoner, &c. When they first set out from Coradale for Loch-Boisdale, they espied three sail within cannon-shot of the shore, by break of day, and therefore were obliged to return back again to Celiestiella in South Uist.

One day as the Prince was sailing up and down Loch-Boisdale, Donald Macleod asked him, "If he once got the crown, what would he do with Sir Alexander Macdonald and the Laird of Macleod?" "Oh, Donald," said he, "would they not then be our own people still, let them now do what they will? What they have done is not all to be imputed to their fault; but is altogether owing to the power President Forbes has over their judgments in these matters. Besides, (continued he) if ever the kingdom was restored, we should be as sure of them then for friends, as the other

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people are now; they being always for those in most power. I blame indeed (says he) young Macleod much more than his father, for he was introduced to me in France, and solemnly promised me all the service in his power; which he, as a gentleman, should not have done, when he did not intend to perform the least tittle of it, as I now see plainly."

While they were here, Macleod espied two sail, which they took for French ships, but they proved to be English men-of-war, which, however, gave them no trouble.

Here the Prince rested some days, and found himself in a most desperate situation, for he had got intelligence that Captain Caroline Scot had landed at Kilbride, within less than two miles of him. This obliged the Prince to part from his constant attendants, Sullivan, faithful Donald Macleod, and his guide Burke, and all the boat's crew, keeping only O'Neil; and two shirts was their baggage.

When he parted from Macleod, there was an appointment to meet at a certain place, by different ways. Donald went south about, but all the men left the Prince except O'Neil; upon which Donald was obliged to sink the boat, and shift as well as he could for himself.—Here we shall leave the Prince.

The others, after parting with the Prince, staid in the field two nights, having only the sails of the boat for a cover. On the third night they went

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farther into the loch, and rested thereabouts for other two nights, when they got sight of some of the red-coats, which then forced them to the north side of the loch.

On the 5th of July, Donald Macleod was taken prisoner by Allan Macdonald of Knock, in Slate, in the Isle of Sky, a lieutenant, who, at the same time, took Macdonald of the family of Glenaladale, and Mr Forest, a Romish priest.

They were carried from place to place, and at last to Applecross-bay, in the Isle of Sky, and there put on board the *Furnace*, Captain Ferguson. Donald Macleod was immediately carried into the cabin to General Campbell, who examined him very circumstantially.

The general asked him, if he had been along with the young Pretender? "Yes," said Donald, "I winna deny it." "Do you know," said the general, "what money was upon that gentleman's head? No less than L.30,000 sterling, man! which would have made you and your family happy for ever." "And what then, man?" replied Donald, "what and though I'd ha' gotten it, I could not ha' enjoyed it for twa days: an' could ye? Conscience, man! conscience would ha' gotten the better o' me, and that it would. Although I'd ha' gotten a' England and Scotland for my pains, I would not allow a hair o' his head to be touch'd, an' I could ha' hinder'd it, since he threw his life upon me, man!" The general could not avoid admiring Donald's honour and generosity, and his



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contempt of gold, when put in competition with virtue. Donald was conveyed on ship-board to Tilbury Fort, and thence removed to London, and at last was discharged out of a messenger's hands, (where he had been a little time) on the 10th of June 1747, which he said he would ever after celebrate as the day of his deliverance.

Burke, after parting from the Prince, went over North Strand, to North Uist, where he skulked in a hill called Eval, for near seven weeks; twenty days of which he had not any meat except dilse and lampocks (a kind of shell-fish.) About this time a paper had been read in all the kirks of Scotland, strictly forbidding all persons to give a morsel of meat to any rebel, upon severe religious penalties. Thus the place appointed to preach the gospel was prostituted to quite contrary purposes, viz. forbidding to feed the hungry, or clothe the naked, &c. After various distresses, occasioned chiefly by this order, he at last was obliged to hide himself in a cave in North Uist, where he was fed by a shoemaker and his wife in the night. At last having had the good fortune not to be excepted in the general act of grace, published in June 1747, he was enabled to purchase a sedan-chair, which he carried in Edinburgh for many years.

Donald Macleod says, that the Prince never slept above three or four hours at a time; and in the morning called for a chopin (a quart) of water, which he drank off, with a few drops out of a

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little bottle ; which he also put into every thing that he drank.

Thus far the foregoing account was taken from the journals and from the mouths of both Macleod and Burke in Scotland.

The Prince having only O'Neil with him, now retired to the mountains, where he lay that night, June the 18th, and next day he received information, that General Campbell was at Bernary, an island about two miles long and one broad, lying between North Uist and the Harris, belonging to the Macleods.

He now had military forces on both the land-sides of him, and the sea on the other, without any kind of vessel to venture out with.

In this perplexity, O'Neil thought proper to apply to a young lady, called Flora Macdonald, who was at her brother's at Milton, in South Uist, upon a visit from the Isle of Sky. Here O'Neil having some little acquaintance with this young lady, proposed to her to assist the Prince to escape from thence.\*

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\* Miss Flora Macdonald was daughter of — Macdonald of Milton, in the island of Uist, descended from Clanronald's family. Her father died when she was an infant, leaving one son and her. Her mother afterwards married Hugh Macdonald of Armadale, then in the Isle of Sky ; and had by him two sons and two daughters. This gentleman was esteemed the strongest man of the name of Macdonald.

Miss Flora was of the middle stature, well shaped, and a very pretty, agreeable person, of great sprightliness in her looks, and abounded with good sense, modesty, good nature, and humanity.

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O'Neil desiring this lady to go with him to the Prince to concert what was best to be done, she objected to it, with specious reasons ; but O'Neil convincing her that the Prince's situation would not admit either of his coming to her, or of any long delay, she at last complied ; and taking her faithful servant, Neil Mackechan, with her, she accompanied O'Neil to the Prince, where every thing necessary was concerted, and Miss promised to use her utmost to put their scheme in execution, in case another method failed, which she there laid for them, and then returned to Milton again. O'Neil promising immediately to get about what was proposed, and to let her know the answer, did try ; but could not bring it to bear ; so he then went to Milton to acquaint Miss Macdonald thereof, who ordered him to return back to the Prince with a message.

Pursuant to the plan then laid down, Miss Flora set forwards on Saturday, June the 21st, for Clanronald's house, to get things necessary for the Prince's disguise, &c. In going to cross one of the fords, she and her man, Niel Mackechan, were taken prisoners by a party of militia, because she had no passport. She demanded to see their officer ; but being told he would not be there till next morning, she asked what his name was ; and then finding he was her own step-father, she chose to stay there all night, till he should arrive next day, rather than answer their questions. So she was carried into the guard-room, and kept prisoner.

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till relieved by her father-in-law, who arrived in the forenoon of Sunday, June 22d, and was not a little surprised to see Miss Flora in custody.

Miss Macdonald took him aside and told him what she was about, and desired a passport for herself, her man Mackechan, and for one Betty Burke, a woman who was a good spinner: and as her mother had a great quantity of linen to spin, she also desired a letter to recommend Betty Burke to her; \* all which her father-in-law consented to; and then Miss proceeded on her journey to Clanronald's house, where she acquainted Lady Clanronald with the design, who was ready to give all the assistance in her power.

Here Miss staid till Friday the 27th, during which time O'Neil passed and repassed several times with messages betwixt the Prince, Lady Clanronald, and Miss Flora.

The time appointed being come, Lady Clanronald, another Macdonald, Miss Flora, and her man Mackechan, conducted by O'Neil, went to the

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\* "I have sent your daughter from this country, lest she should be any way frightened with the troops lying here. She has got one Betty Burke, an Irish girl, who, as she tells me, is a good spinster. If her spinning pleases you, you may keep her till she spin all your lint; or, if you have any wool to spin, you may employ her. I have sent Neil Mackechan along with your daughter and Betty Burke to take care of them. I am, your dutiful husband,

"June 22, 1746.

"HUGH MACDONALD."

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Prince eight miles distant, and carried with them a new dress and some other things to serve him in his voyage; particularly a part of a bottle of white wine, being all that the military people had left Clanronald. This the Prince took special care of, and would not taste one drop of it, but preserved it for his female guide.

When they arrived here, they found the Prince in a little hut, cheerfully roasting and dressing dinner, which was the heart, liver, and kidneys of a sheep, upon a wooden spit.

O'Neil introduced these visitors to the Prince; they were overpowered with compassion and sorrow, until the Prince cheered them with an affable piece of mirth, and with a contempt of his sufferings, saying, the wretched to-day may be happy to-morrow; and growing serious said, "all great men would be the better to feel a little of what I do." Here they dined, and at table the Prince placed Miss Flora on his right, and Lady Clanronald on his left hand; all the rest of the company sat by chance, and eat very heartily, and he smoked a pipe with them.

Next morning they heard of General Campbell's arrival at Benbecula; and soon after a servant came in a great hurry to Lady Clanronald, and acquainted her, "That Captain Ferguson with an advanced party of Campbell's men were at her house, and that the captain lay in her bed last night."

This obliged her to return immediately; so after taking leave of the Prince, she set forwards

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to her own house, where Ferguson immediately examined her very strictly: "Where have you been, madam?" says he; she answered, "To see a child that had been sick, but is now better again." The captain asked many more questions, such as, "where this child was? how far it was from thence?" &c. \*

Lady Clanronald and the other Macdonald being gone, Miss bid the Prince to prepare, for it was time to go. The faithful O'Neil begged hard to go with them, but to this Miss Flora would on no account consent, because there would too many of them together, and they might therefore be the more taken notice of; so the Prince and he took leave here of each other in an affectionate manner.

O'Neil, after parting from the Prince and Miss Macdonald, went and met Sullivan, who was yet upon the island. About two days after, a French cutter, having one hundred and twenty men on board, arrived at the isle of South Uist, intending to carry off the Prince, who they were informed,

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\* Lady Clanronald was taken prisoner soon after, and put on board a man of war; her husband was taken and put on board another, and conveyed to the Thames, and there lay some time: they were again carried up to London, and detained in custody of a messenger, along with his brother Captain Malcolm Macleod of Boisdale, and Roger Macniel of Barra, Esq. At the same time John Gordon, eldest son of Glenbucket, was made prisoner, accused of reviewing his father's troops, although he had been quite blind for six years before. They were all discharged in June following.

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was there. Sullivan went immediately on board, while O'Neil went back for the Prince, hoping to overtake him (the Prince) before he and Miss Macdonald should leave the island; but O'Neil finding the Prince had left the island two days before, returned to the place where he had left the cutter. But unhappy for him, the vessel was gone about three hours before; for the timorous Sullivan, having a fair wind, had not courage to stay for the Prince and O'Neil, but set sail directly to save one precious life, and left the Prince and O'Neil to their good master Providence. There were two small wherries just within sight, which might indeed in some measure excuse the hen-hearted Sullivan, both the wherries being filled with armed men, which were sent out by an English officer after this cutter, but could not get to her.

O'Neil was soon after taken prisoner, but being a foreign officer, was only a prisoner of war: he was put on board a man of war, where, in a little time after, he saw Miss Macdonald a prisoner also, for doing what he had been the instrument of bringing about. He was afterwards conveyed to Berwick-upon-Tweed, and after some time sent home according to the cartel.

The company being gone, Miss Macdonald desired the Prince to put on his new attire, which being soon done, they with their crew, removed their quarters near the water side, where their boat was a float, to be ready in case of any sudden attack from the shore.

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Here they arrived in a very wet condition, and made a fire upon a piece of a rock, as well to dry as to keep themselves warm till night. They had not been long here, when they were alarmed by four wherries, full of armed men, approaching towards the shore: at this sight they extinguished their fire, and concealed themselves in the heather or ling; but their fears soon vanished, for the wherries sailed quietly by to the southward, within gun-shot of them.

On the 28th of June, about eight o'clock in the evening, they set out in very clear weather, but had not been gone above a league, before the sea became very rough, and at last tempestuous. The Prince finding Miss and the sailors begin to be uneasy at their situation, sung them several Highland songs, among others, an old song made for the 29th of May, called *the Restoration*. By this, and some merry stories, the Prince contrived to keep up their spirits. Notwithstanding the night storm, Miss Macdonald was so fatigued that she fell asleep in the bottom of the boat; the Prince observing it, covered her to save her, as much as he could, from the cold, and sat by her, lest any thing should hurt her; or lest any of the boatmen, in the dark, should step upon her; but the sea was so rough she could not sleep long. Next morning, though it was clear and calm, the boatmen knew not where they were, the wind having varied several times in the night; however, they made a point of Waternish, in the west corner of



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Sky, where they soon tried to land, but found the place possessed by a body of forces; who had also three boats or yawls near the shore; and several men of war were in sight. A man on board of one of these boats fired at the Prince and crew to make them bring to; but they rowed off, and would have been taken, had it not been providentially very calm, and the ships at some distance: and the militia on shore could not stir for want of the oars, that were hauled up and flung in the ling by their crew, who were scampering up and down; but, however, they sent up to alarm the people in a little town not far off.

They got safe into a creek or cliff in a rock, and there remained to rest the men, who had been all night at work, and also to get some refreshment; however, as soon as they could, they set forwards again, lest the alarm given to the village should bring down the people upon them, which would have been the case had they staid, for they had not gone far, before they observed the people approaching to the place they had so lately quitted.

At length they landed safe at Kilbride in Trotternish, in the isle of Sky, about twelve miles north from the above-mentioned point, and just at the foot of the garden of Mouggstot. In this neighbourhood there were also several militia in search of the Prince, whose commanding officer was at Sir Alexander Macdonald's, the very house Miss Flora was going to; but she did not know the officer was there until she saw him.

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Miss Macdonald here left the Prince, at the boat, and went with her man to Mouggestot, the seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald; but he was not at home, being then with the Duke of Cumberland: Miss sent into the room to Lady Margaret, (Sir Alexander's lady) to let her know she was come, having before apprised my lady of her errand, by one Mrs Macdonald, who went a little before Miss Flora for that purpose.

Miss was soon introduced into the room where the company were, amongst whom was the commanding officer of the forces in that neighbourhood; who after some time asked Miss "Whence she came? which route she was going? and what news she heard," &c. All which she answered as she thought proper, and very readily, so that he had not the least suspicion at that time of what Miss was about, especially as he saw when she went away, that she had only one servant with her, who, he was sure, could not be the Prince.

Miss Macdonald having told Lady Margaret where she had left the Prince, and the situation he was in, her ladyship, at a loss how to act in so critical a conjuncture, sent off directly an express to Donald Roy Macdonald, (brother to Balshar in North Uist, who was at a surgeon's house, about two miles off, under cure of a wound he had received through his foot at the battle of Culloden,) requiring his immediate attendance. Her ladyship applied, in the mean time, to Mr Macdonald of Kingsborough, a relation of Sir

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Alexander's, and his factor, who happened to be then in the house, and was walking in close conference with him when Donald arrived. It was then agreed, that the Prince should be conducted that night to Port-ree, or King's-port, about seven miles from Kingsborough, by the way of that house; that Donald Roy should ride directly to Port-ree, and endeavour to find out the old Laird of Rasay, to whose care the Prince was to be entrusted; and that Neil Mackechan should return immediately to the Prince upon the shore, inform him of the scheme concerted for his preservation, and direct him to the back of a certain hill, about a mile distant, where he was to wait Kingsborough for his conductor. Kingsborough, taking therefore some wine and other refreshments, set out soon after for the place appointed. He had some difficulty at first to find out the Prince, who however soon made up to him, very briskly, with a thick short cudgel in his hand, and said, "Are you Mr Macdonald of Kingsborough?" "Yes, Sir," answered Kingsborough. "All is well then, (replied the Prince), come let us be jogging." Mr Macdonald told the Prince, he must first partake of the refreshment he had brought, which the Prince accordingly did, the top of a rock serving for a table. This done, they proceeded together; and in conversing, Kingsborough told his fellow-traveller, with no less admiration than joy, that he could recollect no cause, either of business or duty, for his being at Mouggestot that day.

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"I'll tell you the cause (said the Prince); Providence sent you thither to take care of me." But now they are interrupted by some country-people coming from the kirk. Kingsborough could no way get rid of their conversation, till at last he said, "O! sirs, cannot you let alone talking of your worldly affairs on the Sabbath, and have patience till another day?" The good people took the pious hint, and moved off.

When Miss Flora thought the Prince and Kingsborough might be got to some distance, she then made a motion to go, and ordered her horses out directly; but Lady Margaret pressed her strongly before the officer to stay, telling her at the same time, That she (Miss Flora) had promised to stay the next time she came, when she was last there: but Miss begged her ladyship to excuse her this one time, "Because," says she, "I have been some time away, and my mother is not very well, and entirely alone in these troublesome times." At last Lady Margaret excused her; but only on renewing her former promise to make amends the next time she went thither; which Miss very willingly complied with.

Every thing being ready, Miss Flora and her man, Mrs Macdonald afore-mentioned, and her man and maid, all set forwards. They had not gone far before they overtook the Prince and Kingsborough; Mrs Macdonald was very desirous of seeing the Prince's face, which he as carefully avoided, by turning it to the opposite side; but,

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however, she had several opportunities of seeing it, as much as he was disguised.

In wading a rivulet, the Prince lifted his petticoats so high, that Neil Mackechan called to him for God's sake to take care, else he would discover himself. The Prince laughed heartily, and thanked him for his kind concern.

Mrs Macdonald's maid could not keep her eyes off the Prince, and said to Miss Flora, "I think I ne'er saw sic an impudent-looking woman as Kingsborough is a-walking with; I dare say she is an Irish woman, or a man in woman's claes." Miss Macdonald replied, she was an Irish woman, for she knew her, and had seen her before. "Bless me," quoth the maid, "what lang strides the jade taks, and how awkwardly she warks her petticoats, &c. I believe those Irish women could fecht as well as the men."

Miss Macdonald not liking the maid's observations, and knowing they were near the place where the Prince and Kingsborough were to turn out of the common road, and that it was not proper to let Mrs Macdonald's man and maid-servant see which route they and Kingsborough would take, she therefore called out to Mrs Macdonald to ride faster, "For," says she, "we shall be late out;" this was complied with, and they soon lost sight of the two on foot, who presently after turned out of the common road to avoid the militia, and went over the hills, S. S. E. till they arrived at Kingsborough's house, which was about eleven o'clock at night, on

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Sunday, June the 29th, in a very wet condition, having walked seven long miles in almost constant rain. Miss Macdonald arrived about the same time, along the highway, having parted with Mrs Macdonald, her man and maid-servant.

Lady Kingsborough, not expecting her husband home at that time of night, was undrest, and just going into bed, when one of her maid-servants went up and told her, that Kingsborough was returned, and had brought some company with him. "What company?" says Mrs Macdonald. "Milton's daughter, I believe," says the maid, "and some company with her." "Milton's daughter," replied Mrs Macdonald, "is very welcome here, with any company she pleases to bring; but make my compliments to her, and tell her to be free with any thing in the house, for I am sleepy and undrest, so I cannot see her to-night."

In a short time, Kingsborough's daughter went up in as great hurry as surprise, crying out, "Mamma, mamma, my father has brought hither a very odd, muckle, ill-shaken-up wife, as ever I saw; nay, and has taken her into the hall too."

She had scarce said this before Kingsborough himself entered the room, and desired his wife to dress again as fast as she could, and get such meat as they had ready for supper. "Who have you with you?" says Mrs Macdonald. "You shall know that," replied he, "in good time, only make haste."

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Mrs Macdonald then desired her daughter to go and fetch the keys which she had left in the hall. The girl went, and soon ran back again in a great hurry, and said, "Mamma, mamma, I canna gang in for the keys; because the muckle woman is a-walken up and down the hall, and I am afraid o' her," (meaning the Prince). Mrs Macdonald then went herself, but was so frightened, as she said, "at seeing sic a muckle trollop o' a earling mak sic lang strides through the hall, that she did not like her appearance;" but then she desired her husband to fetch them, but he would not; so she was obliged at last to go herself.

When she went into the room, the Prince was sitting, but got up immediately, and saluted her. Mrs Macdonald then began to tremble, having found a rough beard; imagining it was some distressed nobleman or gentleman in disguise, but never dreamed it was the Prince. She therefore went directly out of the room, with the keys in her hand, to her husband, without saying one word to the Prince, and greatly importuned Kingsborough to tell her who it was; and if he, meaning the person in disguise, could tell any thing of what was become of the Prince. Kingsborough smiled at her naming the beard, and told her, "My dear, it is the Prince." "The Prince!" cried she "then we are a' ruined; we will a' be hanged now." "Hut," cried he, "we will die but once, and if we are hanged for this, we die in a good cause, doing only an act of humanity and charity. But go make

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haste with supper, bring us eggs, butter, cheese, and whatever else is ready." "Eggs, butter, and cheese!" quoth she: "what a supper is that for a Prince?" "Oh wife!" replied he, "you little know how this good Prince has lived of late; this will be a feast to him: besides, to make a formal supper, would make the servants suspect something; the less ceremony therefore the better: make haste and come to supper yourself." "I come to supper!" says she. "I know not how to behave before majesty." "You must come," replied Kingsborough, "for the Prince will not eat one bit without you; and you'll find it no difficult matter to behave before him; so obliging and easy is he in conversation."

At supper the Prince placed Miss Flora at his right hand, (always paying her the greatest respect wherever she was, and always rising up whenever she entered the room) and Mrs Macdonald at his left. He made a plentiful supper, eating four eggs, some collops, bread and butter, drank two bottles of small beer at supper, and then calling for a bumper of brandy, he drank health and prosperity to his landlord and landlady, and better times to us all; and after supper smoked a pipe: he smoked as an antidote against the tooth-ach, and kept the same pipe till it was as black as ink, and worn or broken to the very stump. After drinking a few glasses of wine, and finishing their pipes, the Prince went to bed.



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When the Prince and Kingsborough were going from Mouggestot to Kingsborough, the Prince said he proposed going to the Laird of Macleod's, as being a place the government's people would not suspect; but Kingsborough would not agree to that; and gave some of his reasons to support his opinion: "What!" says the Prince, "do you think that Macleod to his former doings would add that of thirsting after my blood?" "I am not certain of that (replied Kingsborough); but I have received a letter from the Laird of Macleod, wherein he desires me to deliver you up if you fell into my way; and said, I should thereby do a service to my country." The Prince thereupon dropt that project, and said, "I hope Macleod will live to see his mistake." Some time after this, the Laird of Macleod asked for the letter again; but Kingsborough absolutely refused to give it to him, and further said, "He would keep that to shew what part Macleod acted, from under Macleod's own hand." Kingsborough, amongst other things, asked the Prince, if he looked upon Lord George Murray to have acted a treacherous part? The Prince said, he hoped not.

After the Prince was gone to bed, Mrs Macdonald desired Miss Flora to relate the Prince's adventures as far as she knew of them; which she did: and when she had concluded her story, Mrs Macdonald asked her, what was become of the boatmen who brought them to that island? Miss replied, "They went back again directly for South

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Uist." "That was wrong," says Mrs Macdonald, "for you should have kept them on this side for some time at least till the Prince could have got farther from his pursuers."

As Mrs Macdonald conjectured, so it proved, for the boatmen were immediately seized on their return, and threatened with torture or death, both which are absolutely against our law, but are always to be expected when people are ruled by those they pay. By these threats of torture, the men revealed all they knew, and gave a description of the gown, being a linen or cotton gown, with purple sprigs, thickly stamped, and a white apron. This thought of Mrs Macdonald determined Miss Flora to desire the Prince to change his dress, as we shall find presently he did; being himself not willing to march any farther in that dress, having found it too troublesome the day before.

The great feast which the Prince had got, being the most material refreshment he had met with for a long time, agreed so well with him, that he slept nine or ten hours without interruption, whereas, in a general way, he seldom required above three or four to rest.

Morning being come and far advanced, Miss Macdonald began to be afraid, lest the Prince lying too long should give his enemies time to overtake him, and therefore desired Kingsborough to go into his room and call him up; who, with much persuasion, went; but finding the Prince in so

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sound a sleep, would not waken him; and so retired quietly out of the room again: but every thing being soon after ready for his journey, Miss Macdonald insisted that Kingsborough should again call him up, with which he complied; and having awakened the Prince, asked him, how he had rested? He answered, "Never better; for I thought I never lay on so good a bed; and to tell the truth, I almost forgot what a bed was." Kingsborough then begged leave to tell the Prince, it was high time to be preparing for another march; that though it would be proper for him to go away in the dress he came in, "Yet," says he, "Sir, as you are a very bad Pretender, and the rumour of your disguise may have taken air, I think it advisable for you to reassume your proper dress; and, if you will stop at the entrance of the wood on yonder hill, I shall take care to bring you thither every thing necessary for that purpose." The Prince thanked his good landlord, and approved the proposal.

When the Prince had dressed himself as well as he could, the ladies went into his chamber to pin his gown and cap. Before Miss put on the cap, Mrs Macdonald desired her, in Erse, to ask the Prince for a lock of his hair; which Miss refused to do, saying, "Can't you ask him yourself." The Prince finding they were disputing about something, desired to know it, and then Mrs Macdonald told him her request, which he immediately granted; and laying his head on Miss Flora's lap,

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bade her cut a lock off; which she did, and gave Mrs Macdonald one half, and kept the other herself.

The Prince being dressed, cried, "A lusty wench this is;" and having breakfasted, asked a snuff of Lady Kingsborough, who took that opportunity of prevailing with him to accept of a silver snuff-box. He then took leave of his kind landlady, thanking her very courteously for all her civilities. Then he and Kingsborough, with a bundle of Highland clothes under his arm, went to the place appointed, and there changed his dress.\* This being done, the Prince embraced Kingsborough in his arms, and bade him a long and happy adieu, and in a most affectionate manner thanked him for his services, and assured him he would never forget them, and said, "Who knows, Kingsborough, but you and I may drink a pot of porter together at a certain place, after all this." Tears fell from the eyes of both, and a few drops of blood from the Prince's nose. Kingsborough was alarmed at seeing the blood, but the Prince told him this was usual with him at parting from dear friends. Kingsborough then sent a guide with the Prince to Portree or King's-port,

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\* The female attire was deposited in the heart of a bush, and afterwards carried to Kingsborough's house, where, upon the alarm of a search, it was burnt, except only the gown, which Kingsborough's daughter insisted on saving, as a precious relic and pattern. It was of a stamped linen, with a purple sprig.

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through all the by-ways while Miss Flora went on horseback by another road, thereby the better to gain intelligence, and to prevent a discovery.

The Prince, attended by Neil Mackechan, and having Kingsborough's herd-boy Macqueen, of about eleven years old, for a guide seven long Scots miles, got safe, though very wet, to Portree. Here he had the pleasure of meeting once more his female preserver, as well as Donald Roy Macdonald; who, though disappointed in his search after the old Laird of Rasay, had got a boat from that island for the Prince's reception, and three choice friends to attend him, viz. John and Murdoch Macleod of Rasay's eldest and third sons, and Captain Malcolm Macleod. The two last gentlemen had been in the Prince's service. The Prince would fain have persuaded cripple Donald to accompany him, but Donald had the resolution to resist his importunities, and also to sacrifice his own inclination to the Prince's safety; for his wound did not permit him to move without a horse, which he well judged would have rendered him too conspicuous a companion of the Prince's privacy. To this faithful friend, therefore, as well as his female preserver, the Prince was obliged to bid a tender farewell; regretting much that he had not a Macdonald to be with him to the last, and said, "Well, Miss Flora, I hope we yet shall be in a good coach and six before we die, though we be now a-foot."

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About six or eight days after the Prince left Sky, Captain Ferguson followed him in hot pursuit; and from the boatmen, who were taken at or in their return to South Uist, having got an exact description of the gown and dress the Prince had on, pursued him to Sir Alexander Macdonald's house, and there searched very strictly, and hearing only of Miss Flora Macdonald, went to Kingsborough, and there examined Mr and Mrs Macdonald, and Mrs Anne Macalaster, their daughter.

The captain first found Kingsborough, and asked him several questions, some of which he answered, and others he either could or would not, but told the captain he had better ask Mrs Macdonald, who could give proper answers: Kingsborough accordingly called Mrs Macdonald, and said, "That Captain Ferguson was come to ask her some questions about her late guests." "If Ferguson (says she) is to be my judge, then God have mercy on my soul." Ferguson asked her, "why she said so?" She replied, "Because the whole world says you are a very cruel hard-hearted man, and indeed I don't like to go through such hands."

Ferguson then asked Kingsborough, where Miss Macdonald and the person in woman's clothes, who was with her, lay? Kingsborough answered, "He knew where Miss Flora lay, but as for servants, he never asked any questions about them."

The captain then asked Mrs Macdonald, whether she laid the young Pretender and Miss Flora in the same bed? She answered, "Sir, whom you

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mean by the young Pretender, I do not pretend to guess; but I can assure you, it is not the fashion in Sky to lay the mistress and maid in the same bed together." The captain then desired to see the rooms wherein each lay; which were shown: and he then remarked, that the room wherein the supposed maid-servant was laid, was better than that wherein the mistress lay.

Kingsborough was taken prisoner, and carried to Fort Augustus; and was there plundered of his shoe-buckles, garters, watch, and money; and in a few hours after thrown into a dungeon, heavily loaded with irons. When Sir Everard Fawkener examined him, he put him in mind how noble an opportunity he had lost of making himself and his family for ever. To which Kingsborough replied, "Had I gold and silver piled heaps upon heaps to the bulk of yon huge mountain, that mass could not afford me half the satisfaction I find in my own breast from doing what I have done." While Kingsborough was prisoner at Fort Augustus, an officer of distinction came and asked him if he would know the young Pretender's head if he saw it; Kingsborough said, he would know the head very well if it were on the shoulders. "But what if the head be not on the shoulders, do you think you should know it in that case?" "In that case (answered Kingsborough), I will not pretend to know any thing about it." So no head was brought him. Kingsborough was removed hence to Edinburgh castle, under a strong guard of

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Kingsboron's light horse, who entered the city with sound of trumpet and beat of kettle-drums; a thing not very common in such a case. He was at first put into the same room with Major Macdonald, Mr George Moer, Laird of Leckie, Mr Thomas Ogilvie, and others; but was soon after removed into a room by himself, under a very close confinement; none was permitted to see him, except the officer upon guard, the serjeant, and keeper, which last was appointed to attend him, as servant. He was here kept until the act of grace, and was then discharged on the 4th of July, 1747, having been confined a year for that one night's lodging.

Kingsborough was once discharged whilst at Fort Augustus, by mistaking him for another of the same name; but Lord Albemarle, finding out the mistake, soon sent a party after him, who found him at Sir Alexander Macdonald's, just going to bed: by this means, he had an opportunity of hearing from Sir Alexander's own mouth, what a rage a certain great officer was in when he found Kingsborough a prisoner at Fort Augustus; throwing out horrid and shocking oaths and imprecations against Kingsborough, for not securing the Prince: and swore, "He would have him hanged at any rate."

Miss Macdonald having taken leave of the Prince, left Portree immediately, and went to her mother's at Armadale; crossed the country, and had a very fatiguing journey; but she neither told



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her mother, nor any other person, what errand she had been about.

One Macleod of Taliskar, an officer in one of the independent companies, desired one of the Macdonalds, who lives four miles from Slait, to send for Miss Flora, to examine her about what had happened: accordingly, about eight or nine days after Miss Flora got home, she received a message from this Macdonald, to go to his house as soon as she could.

Miss Flora being not a little suspicious of the design, thought proper to communicate to her friends what she had done, and consult them as to what she should do; upon which they advised her not to go; however, not to go till next day; which she did accordingly.

She had not gone far on the road, before she met her father-in-law returning home; to whom she told every thing that had happened, from her leaving him in her way to Clanronald's house, to that time; as also what she was then about, and what she intended to say upon examination.

She had not gone far, after parting from her father-in-law, when she was taken prisoner by an officer and a party of soldiers, who were going to her mother's to search for her, and would not suffer her, either to go for her clothes and linen, or to take leave of her friends.

She was carried immediately on board the *Furnace*, Captain Ferguson, which put her under terrible apprehensions, on account of that captain's

great reputed inhumanity and cruelty, which was spread through the whole country : but very lucky for her, General Campbell was on board, who gave strict orders that Miss should be used with the utmost civility and respect ; that she should have a maid-servant, and that they two should have one of the lieutenant's cabins to themselves, forbidding every person to go into it without her leave or consent. This generosity Miss Flora acknowledged many times.

About three weeks after she was thus a prisoner, the ship being near her mother's, General Campbell permitted her to go on shore, to take leave of her friends ; but yet in custody of two officers and a party of soldiers ; however, she was not to speak any thing in Erse, nor any thing except what the officers heard ; so she staid about two hours, and then returned again to the ship.

When she was taken prisoner, she, upon her examination, told, " That she had seen a great lusty woman, who came to the water-side, as she (Miss Flora) was going into the boat, and told her, That she (the supposed lusty woman) was a soldier's wife, and was left on the island without friends, meat, or money ; and desired she (Miss Flora) would give her a place in the boat, that she might get to the continent of Scotland, to her husband ; that she (Miss Flora) granted her request ; and that when they landed in Sky, she went directly to Sir Alexander Macdonald's, and the lusty woman went on her own way, thanking her for the

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favour." This story Miss Flora told; but when she got to General Campbell, she was more candid, and therefore told the whole truth to him.

Miss Macdonald was removed on board Commodore Smith's ship, where she was exceedingly well treated, and he was very polite to her; for which, when she was in London, she consented to sit for her picture, at his request.

The ship, on which she was a-board, was some time in Leith roads, and after being conveyed from place to place, she was at last, on November 28, 1746, put on board the Royal Sovereign, lying at the Nore, whence, on the 6th of December following, she was removed to London in custody of Mr William Dick, a messenger, having been five months on ship-board. In this messenger's custody she remained until July 1747, when she was discharged, and returned to Edinburgh, without being asked a question.

This relation is taken from the remainder of O'Neil's journal, and from the mouths of Kingsborough, his lady, and Miss Flora Macdonald.

Having concluded the history of Kingsborough and Miss Macdonald, we will now return to the Prince.

After taking leave of Miss Macdonald, he set out immediately, there being in the boat besides himself, and the gentlemen already mentioned, the two boatmen, John Mackenzie, and Donald Macfrier, who had both been out in his service, the one a serjeant, the other a private man.

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Early in the morning of July 1st, they arrived safe at Glam, in Rasay, being six miles. They staid here two days and a half in a mean low hut, all the houses in Rasay, to the number of some hundreds, having been burnt; young Rasay, who was at freedom to appear, going backwards and forwards, brought a lamb and a kid in the corner of his plaid. They were obliged to lie on the bare ground, having only a little heath or ling for a pillow.

A man went into this island to sell a roll of tobacco; but after he had sold it, he continued strolling up and down the island, in an idle way, for twelve or fourteen days, without having any apparent business; which made the people of the island suspect he was a spy.

When the Prince and Malcolm were in the hut, the captain saw this very man approaching towards them; on which Malcolm determined to shoot him. "No, Malcolm," said the Prince, taking hold of him, "God forbid, that any innocent man should suffer by us; if we can but keep ourselves safe, let us not take that from any person which we cannot restore to him again; let us not dread more than we need; and pray, let not fear make us do mischief;" and he would not allow the captain to stir. Malcolm had the more reason to suspect this man to be a spy, because the hut was not near any road; but, however, luckily for the poor man, he passed by without offering once to

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look into it, which if he had attempted, Malcolm determined to have shot him, for their own preservation.

On July the 3d, the Prince proposed going to Trotternish in Sky, although it blew very hard, and had no other than the small boat, which could not contain above six or seven persons; and accordingly set forward about seven o'clock in the evening, the same company attending him.

They had not got far before the wind blew harder, and the crew begged to return; but the Prince encouraged them; told them, "*Cæsarem vehis*: Providence, my boys, that carried me through so many dangers, will no doubt preserve me for a nobler end than this;" and then sang them a merry Highland song. The waves washed very frequently into the boat, and Malcolm and the Prince took their turns in laving the water out again.

About eleven o'clock at night they landed at a place in the island of Sky, called Nicholson's Great Rock, near Scorobreck in Trotternish, being about ten miles from Glam, in Rasay. It was bad landing, and the Prince was the third man who jumped into the water, and helped to haul the boat up to dry land. He had on a great riding coat, which being wet through, and the rock they were going up being very steep, Malcolm desired the Prince to let him carry it; but he would by no means consent, and said, "I am younger than you, captain." They travelled thus to a byre (cow-house)

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belonging to one Nicholson, about two miles from Scorobreck.

Here the Prince and company took up their quarters; and Malcolm would have the Prince to put on a drier shirt, and take some sleep. He would not change his shirt, but sleep at last seized him as he sat. He often started in his sleep, and sighing deep, would say, "Ah, poor people! poor people!"

After some little time he awaked, and finding Malcolm upon the watch, earnestly desired him to take some rest, who at that time would not; but on renewing his entreaty again, the captain thought that perhaps he might want to say something to the rest of the company in private, and therefore went out for a little time.

The two brothers (young Rasay and Murdoch) and the boatmen here left Charles, and returned; who appointed the younger to meet him at Cammistinnawag, another place in the same island.

Charles and Malcolm staid here twenty hours in all, without any kind of refreshment, not even so much as a fire to dry their clothes with.

On the 4th, about seven o'clock in the evening, they left the byre, and walked on about a mile without speaking one word; at last Captain Macleod said, he hoped his Royal Highness would forgive him for asking where he intended to go. Charles answered, "I commit myself entirely to you; carry me to Mackinnon's bounds in Sky." They then changed clothes, the captain passing for

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the master, and the Prince for the man, who, whenever they saw any person, or came near any village, always carried the little baggage, which consisted of two shirts, one pair of stockings, one pair of brogues, a bottle of brandy, some mouldy scraps of bread and cheese, and a stone bottle of water, which held three English pints; and at those times whenever he spoke to the captain, or the captain to him, always pulled off his bonnet.

They marched all night through the worst ways in Europe, going over hills, wild moors, and glens, without halting, till they arrived at Ellagol, or rather Ellighill, near to Kilmaree, or Kilvory in Strath, in the Laird of Mackinnon's country, and not far from where that laird lived, having walked twenty-four miles.

In their travelling, the brandy bottle was near out, having only one dram in it, which the Prince would force Malcolm to drink, declaring, "He wanted none himself;" which Malcolm complied with, and afterwards hid the bottle.

In their road the Prince said, "Suppose Malcolm, we two should meet any body who should attempt to kill or take us; what shall we do?" "That depends upon their numbers," replied Malcolm; "if there be no other than four of them, I'll engage to manage two." "Then let me go if I do not manage the other two," said the Prince.

The Prince observing that his own waistcoat was too fine for a servant, being a scarlet tartan,



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with a gold twist button, exchanged it with that of his supposed master.

As they approached near Strath, in Mackinnon's country, the captain suggested to the Prince, that he was now coming to a country where he would be known, and therefore might be discovered in every corner of it, as Mackinnon's men had been out in his service, and therefore he must be more disguised; to do which the Prince put his wig into his pocket, tied a dirty handkerchief about his head, and pulled his bonnet over it.

They no sooner arrived in Strath than they met two of Mackinnon's men who had been in his army; they stared at the Prince, and soon knew him, and with lifted hands, they burst into tears on seeing him in such distress. The captain hushed them, and bade them compose themselves, for otherwise they would discover all by their concern; which they complied with, as well as they could; and then Malcolm enjoining them to secrecy, dismissed them, and they proved faithful.

Being come near the place resolved upon, Malcolm told the Prince that he had a sister married to one John Mackinnon, a captain in the Prince's army; and then he advised him to sit down at a little distance from the house, whilst he (Malcolm) went in to learn if any of their enemies were in that neighbourhood in quest of him, and likewise to know whether he (Malcolm) could be safe there with her; the Prince was still to pass as his servant, Lewis Caw.



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Malcolm found his sister at home, but not her husband; after usual compliments at meeting, he told her, "That he was come to stay some little time there, provided there was no party of the military people about them, and that he could be safe." She said "He might;" and then he told her, "He had no person with him, except one Lewis Caw, (son of Mr Caw, surgeon in Crieff) who had been out in the last affair, and, consequently in the same situation with himself; and that he was to pass as Malcolm's servant." She very readily agreed to take him, and Lewis (the Prince) was called into the house.

When Lewis entered the house, with the baggage on his back, and the napkin on his head, he took off his bonnet, made a low bow, and sat at a distance from his master; but the captain's sister could not help looking at Lewis, observing something very uncommon about him.

The captain then desired his sister to give them some provisions, for he was almost famished with hunger: the provisions were soon set out, and the captain called to poor sick Lewis to draw near and eat with him, as there was no company in the house. Lewis seemed very backward, alleging, "He knew better manners;" but his master ordering him again, he obeyed, and drew nearer, but still kept off his bonnet.

After having got some refreshment, the captain desired the maid servant to wash his feet, which being done, he desired her then to wash his man's;

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(for the Prince had slumped to the middle in a bog, whence Malcolm had had difficulty to pull him out) but she replied, "That though she had washed his, yet she would not wash that loon his servant's." But the captain told her, "His servant was not well, and therefore he would have her to do it." She then complied, but rubbed his feet so hard, that she hurt him very much; on which the Prince spoke to the captain, in English, to desire her not to rub so hard, nor go so far up with her hand, he having only a philibeg on.

After this refreshment, both the Prince and the captain went to sleep; during which time the captain's sister went to the top of a hill to keep watch, lest they should be surprised.

The Prince did not sleep above two hours; the captain being weary, slept much longer; but when he awaked he saw the Prince dandling a child, and singing to it, and seemed as alert as if he had been in bed all night: "Who knows (says the Prince) but this boy may hereafter be a captain in my service?" "Or you rather (said the maid) an old serjeant in his company."

The captain hearing his brother-in-law was coming, went out to meet him. After the usual ceremonies, Malcolm asked him, "If he saw those ships of war (pointing to them) that were at a distance hovering about the coast?" "Yes," said Mackinnon. "What (says Malcolm) if the Prince be on board one of them?" "God forbid," replied Mackinnon. "What (said Malcolm) if he were

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here, John; do you think he would be safe enough?" "I wish we had him here, (replied John) for he would be safe enough; for nothing would hurt him here." "Well then, (replied Malcolm) he is now in your house; but when you go in you must not take any notice of him, lest the servants or others observe you; for he passes for one Lewis Caw, my servant." John promised very fair, but he no sooner saw the Prince in that condition, than he burst out into a flood of tears, which Malcolm observing, obliged John to retire immediately.

When the Prince and Malcolm were alone, the captain desired he would tell him the perils he had already escaped; which being told, Malcolm seemed amazed; upon which the Prince said, "Captain, I could give my own person, for life, more ease by staying where I was; but I could give others more ease by being a King; I pity a good King, for if he does his duty I see he must be the greatest slave in his dominions, as he can't say that an hour of his time is justly his own; this is nothing to what I am destined to undergo; but Providence will guard me through the whole, as well as it has hitherto done. What I have undergone is a lesson I wish every Prince underwent, before he came to govern; for he would then know what is misery and distress, which would give him a true light of the situation of his subjects, and be thereby a mean to make him cautious and

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frugal ; and not wantonly throw away their wealth, if he means to make them and himself happy."

After much more of this sort of conversation, they began to consult how the Prince was to get to the continent of Scotland, and both agreed not to let the Laird of Mackinnon know of their being there, on account of his being so old. They then called in John Mackinnon, and desired him to go and hire a boat, as if for Malcolm only ; and made John promise not to communicate any thing of what he had heard or seen about them to the laird, if he and John should chance to meet.

John having his instructions, set forwards ; but soon meeting with his old chieftain, he could not refrain letting him into the secret. The good old man getting this intelligence, ordered John to give himself no trouble about the boat, for that he (the laird) would provide a good one ; and would soon be with the Prince.

John returned and told the Prince what had happened, and that the laird would soon be with him. Malcolm then said to the Prince, " As the case now stands, it will be best to leave all the management to the old gentleman, who will be firm to his trust." The Prince, notwithstanding this, was uneasy at the thought of parting with his faithful captain : but Malcolm represented to the Prince, that as he (the captain) had been some time absent, the military people might pursue him upon suspicion ; and if so, he might be the cause of the Prince being taken also ; " But if I return,

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and should be taken prisoner (said Malcolm), which may very likely be the case, it will yet enable me to prevent so quick a pursuit after you; because, as I am alone, I can tell my own tale, without being confronted, and can send them upon a wrong scent: for myself, (continued Malcolm) I care not, but for you I am much afraid; and as I can do you more service by quitting than staying with you, I desire you'll follow the Laird of Mackinnon's directions:" to which the Prince at last consented. Meantime Mackinnon arrived with his lady, who had brought in the boat what wine and other provisions they were able to furnish; upon which they set out for it directly, being accompanied thither by John Mackinnon also, who even went with his laird to the continent of Scotland, and saw the Prince safely landed there.

As they were on their way towards the boat, they espied two men of war coming towards them, in full sail before the wind; and thereupon he entreated the Prince not to attempt to go on board at that time, but to wait till the men of war had steered another course: "For just now (continues Malcolm) the wind is fair for them, but against you." "Never fear," replied the Prince, "I have not had so few escapes, to be sillily caught here; I'll go on board, and the wind will change, and those very ships shall steer another course: Providence shews me that I am in its care, and it therefore cannot be in the power of my enemies to come near me, at this juncture."

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They all dined together in a cave, and just as the Prince was about to step into the boat, (eight o'clock at night) he turned suddenly to Malcolm, and said, "Don't you remember I promised to meet Murdoch Macleod at Cammistinnawag." "No matter (said the captain) I'll make your apology; for as necessity drives you another road, he'll excuse you." "That's not enough between gentlemen, (replied the Prince) have you pen, ink, and paper, about you, Malcolm? I'll write him a line or two; I am obliged in good manners, to do this." Accordingly he wrote the following words:

"SIR,

"I thank God I am in good health, and have got off as designed: Remember me to all friends, and thank them for the trouble they have been at. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

"JAMES THOMSON."

The Prince then gave this letter to the captain, and desired him to deliver it, though open, for he had neither wax nor wafer.

The Prince then said, "Malcolm, let us smoke one pipe together, before we part:" accordingly the captain fired a piece of tow with his gun, for this purpose.

At parting, the Prince presented Malcolm with a silver stock-buckle, embraced and saluted him twice, and thanking him for what he had done, put ten guineas into his hand, which the captain

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refusing, the Prince forced them upon him. Here the Prince having got a better pipe, had no farther occasion for the short one (called cutty) which was black with use: this Malcolm took, and some time after, sent it to a friend in England.

Having most gratefully taken leave of the Lady Mackinnon, as well as of Captain Macleod, \* the Prince, old Mackinnon, and John, Malcolm's brother-in-law, went on board in the evening of the 4th of July.

After a tempestuous voyage, the Prince and his company landed safe next morning, about four, on the south side of Loch-Nevis, near Little-Malloch; where they lay three nights in the open fields. The fourth day, old Mackinnon and one of the boatmen having gone to seek a cave to lie in, the

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\* Captain Macleod having followed the Prince as far as his eye could go, set out on his return home by the way of Kingsborough; where he related the Prince's late adventures, and failed not to tell the Lady Kingsborough, that the Prince, having one day cast his eyes upon her silver snuff-box, had asked him the meaning of its device and inscription; and that he had explained them in such words as these: "The device, Sir, of two grasping hands, is used in Scotland as an emblem of a sincere and firm friendship; and the inscription, *Rob Gib*, refers to a common Scots saying, *Rob Gib's contract, stark love and kindness*;" that the Prince admired the design, and declared he would endeavour to keep the present as long as he lived.—Captain Macleod had not been long at home before he was taken prisoner, conveyed into the Thames, and, on the first of November, 1746, removed to London, where he was detained in a messenger's house till July, 1747.

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Prince, with John and the other three, took to the boat, and rowed up Loch-Nevis, along the coast. As they doubled a point, they were hotly pursued by five men with red crosses on their bonnets (a badge wore by the Highland militia); whose summons to come ashore John had not thought fit to obey: on the contrary, by his words and example, he so animated the three rowers, that they soon out-rowed their pursuers, turned another point, and stood in to the shore. The Prince then sprung out of the boat, and, attended by John and another, mounted nimbly to the top of the hill; from whence they beheld the boat with the red crosses returning from their fruitless pursuit.

On this eminence the Prince slept three hours; and then returning down the hill, reimbarked, and crossed the loch to a little island about a mile from Scotus's house. They soon after repassed the loch, and landed at Malloch, where, having refreshed themselves, and met again with old Mackinnon and servant, they set out for Macdonald of Morar's, about seven or eight miles distant. As they passed a shealing, they spied some people towards the road. Whereupon the Prince made John fold his plaid for him, and throw it over his shoulder, with his knapsack upon it; tying a handkerchief about his head, the better to disguise himself: and now behold the Prince once more a servant. After receiving a draught of milk from Archibald Macdonald, grandson of Macdonald of Scotus, they pursued their journey, and came to another shealing



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belonging to old Scotus, where they procured a guide to Morar's bothy or hut, his house having lately been burnt. Morar receiving his guests as well as his situation would permit, conducted them to a cave, where they slept ten hours; during which time he went in quest of young Clanronald. At his return, without finding him, the Prince resolved to bid farewell to old Mackinnon \* and Morar, and in the evening to set out with honest John, and only a boy, a son of Morar's, and a guide, for Boradale. Here they arrived before day, found the house burnt, and Boradale himself at a bothy hard by. To this gentleman's charge John committed the Prince, saying, "I have done my duty, do you your's." "I am glad of the opportunity (replied Boradale), and shall not fail to take care of him." He proved accordingly as good as his word †.

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\* Old Mackinnon was taken at Morar, in his return home. He lay prisoner for some time on ship-board in the Thames, then at Tilbury-fort, and was thence removed to the New-jail, Southwark. In 1747, he was removed into the custody of a messenger, and was set at liberty within a few weeks.

† John escaped at this time, having lain near the boat, and got home under cloud of night on the 11th. Here he no sooner landed, than he was made prisoner at his own shealing in Ellagol, by a party of militia under the command of Lieutenant Hope, who used him with great civility. But he was afterwards carried to Kilvory; where he was examined, and two of the rowers, who were taken with him. One of these was stripped naked, tied to a tree, and whipped with a cat-o'-nine-tails, till the

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From Boradale's hut, the Prince sent for Glenaladale, a Macdonald of Clanronald's family. This gentleman arrived about the 15th of July, brought the Prince intelligence of Lochiel and other friends, and assured him that the loss at Culloden, and after the battle, was not near so great as Sullivan and O'Neill had told him.

The Prince then proposed to go to Lochaber, where he believed Lochiel was. But as all the passes were closely guarded, it was deemed at that time impracticable: for one line was formed from Inverness to Fort-Augustus, and from thence to Fort-William; and another from the head of Loch-Arkaig, to stop all the avenues of Lochaber. The Prince continued therefore some days in Glenbiasdale, or Boradale, till he heard of General Campbell's arrival with four hundred men on one side of him, and of Captain Caroline Scot's with five hundred more on the other. These having got some intelligence of the Prince, were forming a circle round him, not above two miles distant.

In this situation the Prince was advised to get,

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blood gushed out of both his sides; and John Mackinnon was threatened with the like usage, and with irons, if he did not discover where the Prince was. He was then put on board the Furnace, where he was civilly used by General Campbell. From that ship he was turned over to the Thomas, which lodged him on board of a transport. He was first put ashore at Tilbury-fort; from whence he was removed to the New-jail, and discharged the 3d of July, 1747.

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if possible, to the braes of Glenmoriston, to sculk there, and in Lovat's country, till the passes should be opened. He sent for Donald Cameron of Glenpean to be his guide. That gentleman came accordingly, and in the night conducted the Prince safe through the guards who were in the pass; being obliged to creep upon all fours, so close to the tents, that they heard the soldiers talking to one another, and saw them walking between them and the fires. At the same time there went with the Prince, Glenaladale, his brother, and two young boys, sons of Angus Macdonald of Boradale.

In passing over the top of a mountain, called Drymchosey, there happened to be a small rivulet issuing out of the precipice, and gliding over it, which made the darksome, steep, and pathless descent very slippery, being a mixture of grass and heath. The Prince slipt a foot, and would unavoidably have been dashed to pieces before he could have reached the bottom of the precipice, it being so very steep, but Donald Cameron being foremost as guide, happily caught hold of one of his arms, which he did only with one hand, being obliged to hold fast by the heath with the other, to preserve the Prince and himself from tumbling headlong down together; and to cry aloud to Glenaladale to haste down to their relief, which he instantly did, and got hold of the Prince's other arm, and so recovered him immediately, to which the Prince's own life and spirit contributed not a little, as both these preservers have often acknow-

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ledged. But this was only a prelude to difficulties and dangers still greater and greater, as now they had to pass through the line of little camps, twenty-seven in number, called the Chain, which was so formed as to enclose the ground on the land-side where the Prince was then skulking, imagining thereby to make sure work of the much-wished-for victim, by starving him to death, or getting him into their clutches, or forcing him once more to try his fortune on the merciless waves, and among the yet more merciless ships and sloops of war.

When they came near to the military chain, which they could well spy at a distance by the fires, the night being very dark, Donald Cameron wisely proposed to pass through alone, and return again; "Which," said he, "if I do with safety, then your Highness may venture, I hope in God, to follow me the second time;" all which was accordingly most happily accomplished in the face of their enemies.

During the time that honest Donald was meditating how to conduct the Prince across the encircling chain, he would fall a rubbing of his nose, and say to the Prince, "O, Sir! my nose is yuiking, which is a sign to me that we have great hazards and dangers to go through." After passing the wakeful guards, the Prince made up to him, and pleasantly said, "Well, Donald, how does your nose now?" "It is better now," said he; "but it still yuiks a little." "Ay, Donald," replied the

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Prince, have we still more guards to go through?" This plainly shews, how well the Prince kept up his spirits, even when surrounded on all hands with the greatest dangers, of which indeed many instances might be given.

Upon crossing the line, they were obliged to walk along, and not very far from it, in order to get at the place they intended. Betwixt two and three o'clock in the morning, July 21st, they came to a place near the head of Loch-Urn, called Corriscorridill, where chusing a fastness, they took such refreshment as the exigency of the case could afford; the Prince covering a slice of cheese with oatmeal, which, though but dry fare, he eat very heartily, and drank of the cold stream.

His Highness passed the whole day in the above hold till about eight at night, and the guide, Donald Cameron, knowing the way no farther in the course the Prince intended to hold, he hoped to find some people thereabouts he could trust. Glenaladale and Donald therefore began to peep out, and look about a little, in order to find these trusty folks; but no sooner had they stept a little from their concealment, than they found, to their no small astonishment, that they had lodged all day within cannon-shot of two small camps of the Chain, and spied some soldiers gathering a few sheep together for slaughter, and so very nigh them, that they were forced to fall flat on their breasts, and crawl back on all fours to the Prince, to warn him of his danger, and the narrow escape

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he had had; which determined them to direct their course another way, if it were possible, out of sight of the enemy.

As the Prince continued his progress to Glenmoriston, attended only by Glenaladale, the latter one day lost his purse with forty guineas in it. This being their whole joint stock, Glenaladale begged the Prince to rest himself behind an adjacent hill, till he should go back and seek it. This the Prince opposed, but in vain: his attendant assuring him they had not walked far since he had lost it.

The Prince, at his post, was meditating on the goodness of Providence in preserving him hitherto amidst the greatest dangers, when, at a distance, he spied a party of soldiers advancing. He immediately hid himself as well as he could; yet so as to see the soldiers pass by not far from him, and then take the very route he and Glenaladale would have taken had not the purse been lost. The Prince eyed them as far as he could, and soon after his friend returned with the purse, to whom he told what he had seen, and after both of them joining in thanksgiving, the Prince said, "Glenaladale, my hour, I see, is not come; for, I believe, I should not be taken though I had a mind to it."

They got safe into Glenmoriston about the 24th; but were almost famished with hunger, having been forty-eight hours without meat, when the Prince saw a little hut at a distance, and some

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smoke going out of the hole in the roof: "Thither (says he) will I go let the consequence be what it may; for I had better be killed like a man, than starved like a fool." His friend did all in his power to dissuade him from it; but he would go.

When they got to the hut, the Prince went boldly in, without shewing any manner of concern, and there found six stout lusty fellows at dinner, upon a large piece of boiled beef; a sight he had been long a stranger to. The men were six noted thieves, who had made this hut in that place, for privacy and safety, and were not a little amazed at seeing a strange face entering there. One of them knew the Prince, and also knew he was skulking; but he, not thinking it safe to tell the rest of the company who their guest was, had the presence of mind, upon seeing the Prince, to cry out, "Ha! Dougal M'Cullony, I am glad to see thee." The Prince, by this expression, found he was known, and, with equal steadiness of countenance, thanked him cheerfully, sat down with them, eat very heartily, and was very merry.

The Prince, his friend, and the man who knew the Prince, walked out after dinner, and then consulted what farther was to be done; and being informed of the state of the country about, and of the military people, found it absolutely necessary to wait here for some time, and that the other five men must be intrusted with the secret; which being done, they rejoiced that they had it in their power to serve the Prince. They conducted him

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to a natural cave, called Cairagoth, and in this grotto made up a bed for him of ferns and tops of heath, upon which he was soon lulled asleep with the sweet murmurs of a fine purling stream that glided by his homely bed-side within the cave, which was capacious enough to hold beds for all of them. In this romantic habitation the Prince made his abode three days; at the end of which he was so well refreshed, that he declared himself capable of encountering farther hardships. Then they removed two miles, to a place called Corieyeroch, where they took up their habitation in a natural grotto, no less romantic than the former.

Regularly every day they mounted guard upon the Prince, placed their sentry-posts at the head and foot of the glen, and had a foraging party of two to fetch provisions in their own cautious way. In a word, the heroic courage and cautious conduct of these trusty poor fellows cannot be described; for though they had not, perhaps, a single shilling amongst them, yet they were proof against a reward of thirty thousand pounds!—With Glenaladale and these men, the Prince continued between the braes of Glenmoriston and Glen-strathferrar, till the guards were removed, and the passes opened.

About this time (the middle of July) one Roderick Mackenzie, a merchant of Edinburgh, who had been out with the Prince, was skulking among the hills about Glenmoriston, when some of the soldiers met with him; and as he was about



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the Prince's size and age, and not much unlike him in the face, was a genteel man and well dressed, they took him for the Prince: Mackenzie tried to escape them, but could not, and being determined not to be taken and hanged, (which he knew, if taken, would be his fate) he bravely resolved to die sword in hand; and, in that death, to serve the Prince more than he could possibly do by living. The bravery and steadiness of Mackenzie confirmed the soldiers in their belief that he was the Prince, whereupon one of them shot him; who, as he fell, cried out to them, "You have killed your Prince! you have killed your Prince!" and expired immediately. The soldiers overjoyed with their supposed good fortune in meeting with so great a prize, immediately cut off the brave young man's head, and made all the haste they could to Fort Augustus, to tell the news of their great heroical feat, and to lay claim to the £30,000, producing the head, which several said they knew to be the Prince's head. This great news was soon carried to the Duke, with the head, who, believing the *great Work* was done, set forwards for London, from Fort Augustus, on the 18th of July. It was about this head that Kingsborough was asked the question aforementioned, by one of the captains of the English forces.

The soldiers and militia sent out to take the Prince and his adherents, now imagining that he was killed, and his head sent to London, began to

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be less strict, and not to keep so good a look-out as before ; by which means he escaped from place to place, with less danger.

About the beginning of August he went with his new retinue into Lochaber, to Achnasual, two miles from Achnacarie, the seat of Lochiel. They brought no provisions with them, expecting to be supplied in that country, where there used to be greater plenty than whence they had come ; but they were greatly disappointed, finding all the country plundered and burnt, and no cattle or any other sort of provisions to be got. In this distress they remained some time, when at last one of the Glenmoriston men spied a hart, and shot her ; on which they lived, without bread or salt.

The next day the Prince being informed, that Macdonald of Lochgarie, Cameron of Cluns, and Cameron of Lochnasual, were in the neighbouring mountains, sent after them, and at the same time sent Peter Grant (the most active of the Glenmoriston men) to Lochiel, who was then about twenty miles off, to let him know where he was. Before the Prince sent to him, Lochiel had heard also that it was supposed the Prince was in the country, and sent his brother, Doctor Archibald Cameron, and the Rev. Mr John Cameron, by different roads, to get intelligence of the Prince.

The person sent by the Prince to Lochiel, met Dr Cameron, within a few miles of the place where Lochiel was, who was obliged to return to Lochiel with two French officers, whom he had

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met with, and who were in quest of the Prince also \*.

This faithful person sent by the Prince, would not own to the doctor, or the two French officers, that he knew any thing about the Prince, his orders being only to tell it to Lochiel himself, which he punctually observed; and, as he said he had business of the utmost consequence, the doctor conducted him, with the two officers, to Lochiel.

Next day Lochiel sent Dr Cameron with four servants to the Prince; and sent the officers, at the same time, to be under the care of one of his friends, till farther orders.

Mr Cameron the minister, whom his brother Lochiel had sent out to get intelligence of the Prince, after travelling and searching several days went to Achnacary, where he met with his brother

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\* These French officers came from Dunkirk, in a small vessel, with sixty other gentlemen, who had formed themselves into a company of volunteers, under the command of the said two officers. They got to Polliver in Seaforth's country, where four of them landed, to deliver their dispatches; two of whom were taken prisoners, viz. one Fitzgerald, a Spanish officer, whom they hanged at Fort William, pretending he had been a spy in Flanders: the other was called Mon. de Berard, a French officer, and was after some time exchanged upon the cartel. The other two wandered in Seaforth's country, till Lochgarie, hearing they had letters for the Prince, sent Captain Macraw and his own servant for them, that they might be sent to Lochiel, since the Prince could not be found; this was about the middle of July.

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the doctor going to the Prince, with four servants, who, as the river was not fordable, raised a boat, which Captain Munro of Culcairn had sunk, after searching the isle of Loch-Arkaig.

When Culcairn was plundering in this island, he saw some new-raised earth; imagining there was either money or arms concealed, had it dug up, but only found a man's corpse, with a good Holland shirt on, which made him believe it to be Lochiel: He thereupon sent an express to the Duke of Cumberland, to tell him that Lochiel was dead of his wounds. But it really was the corpse of — Cameron, brother of Allan Cameron of Callart, which last was taken at Culloden and carried to London.

Dr Cameron and the minister observing some men by the water-side in arms, sent some of Cluns's children, to see who they were; they, soon finding them to belong to Cluns, sent the boat for them, and then sent the four servants back again to Lochiel, pretending they were going to skulk in the wood for some days, and that keeping such a number together might be dangerous.

They crossed the river, and went to the hut, where the Prince was, which was built on purpose in a wood betwixt Achnasual and the end of Loch-Arkaig. The Prince, and Cameron of Achnasual, upon seeing the doctor and his brother at a distance, and not then knowing who they were, had left the hut and went a little from it; but being soon informed who they were, immediately

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returned to a joyful meeting: and when they told the Prince that Lochiel was well, and recovered of his wounds, he returned God thanks thrice for it, and expressed an uncommon joy at it.

The Prince was at this time bare-footed, had a long beard, a dirty shirt, an old black kilt coat, a plaid, and a philibeg, a gun in his hand, and a pistol and durk by his side; he was very cheerful, and in good health. They had killed a cow the day before, and the servants were roasting part of it. At dinner the Prince eat heartily, and there was some bread which they had got from Fort Augustus: no man could sleep sounder. He now began to speak some little Erse.

The Prince proposed going immediately to Lochiel; but understanding there was a rumour of his having passed Corryarack with Lochiel and thirty men, which might probably occasion a search in those parts, he resolved to stay some time longer where he was. Soon after he dispatched Glenaladale to look out for ships on the west-coast; and dismissed the Glenmoriston men, having no further occasion for their service. \*

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\* Charles staid in the cave with these men five weeks and three days; during this long abode, either thinking he would be safer with gentlemen, than with common fellows of a loose character, or desirous of better company, he told Glenaladale that he intended to put himself into the hands of some of the neighbouring gentlemen; and desired him to enquire about them, and learn who was the most proper person for him to apply to.

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In this neighbourhood the Prince continued, moving between three different huts, till about the 28th of August; the sons of Cameron of Cluns, Mr John Cameron, an itinerant preacher stationed at Fort-William, who had joined the Prince's

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Glenaladale talking with the Highlanders about the gentlemen in their neighbourhood, and enquiring into their character, they guessed from his questions what was the intention of Charles; and conjured him to dissuade the Prince from it, saying, that no reward could be any temptation to them; for if they betrayed the Prince, they must leave their country, as nobody would speak to them, except to curse them: whereas £30,000 was a great reward to a poor gentleman, who could go to Edinburgh or London with his money, where he would find people enough to live with him, and eat his meat and drink his wine.

When Charles entered the cave he was in the greatest distress. He had a bonnet on his head, and a wretched yellow wig, a clouted handkerchief, about his neck. He had a coat of coarse dark-coloured cloth, a Stirling tartan waistcoat, much worn, a pretty good belted plaid, tartan hose, and Highland brogues, tied with thongs, so much worn that they would scarcely stick upon his feet. His shirt, and he had not another, was of the colour of saffron; but they very soon provided him with clean linen, and every thing he stood in need of.

Hugh Chisholm, one of the six who were in the cave of the rock when Charles came there, was at Edinburgh a good many years afterwards; several people had the curiosity to see him, and hear his story. Some of them gave him money. He shook hands with his benefactors, and hoped they would excuse him for giving them his left hand, as when he parted with the Prince he had got a shake of his hand; and was resolved never to give his right hand to any man till he saw the Prince again.

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army, and Captain Macraw, of Glengary's regiment, being his chief attendants.

As they were one day in the hut which Cluns had built for his family, (after his house was burnt) a child about six years old went out, and returning hastily, said, she saw a body of soldiers: this they could not believe, as Lochgary had promised Lochiel to have a guard between Fort-Augustus and Cluns, to give intelligence.

They went out, however, and found all true, as the girl had told. Cluns skulked to observe the motions of that party: one of his sons, and Mr John Cameron the minister, went to inform the the Prince, who was that day in one of the huts on the other side of the water Kaig, a short mile from Cluns; and in crossing the water at the ford, under cover of the wood, and going within pistol-shot of the hut, Mr Cameron observed the party advancing.

The Prince was asleep, (about eight o'clock in the morning) Mr Cameron, however, awoke him, told him, that a body of their enemies was in sight: he then arose very composedly, called for his gun, and sent for Captain Macraw, and Alexander, Cluns's son.

As they had not received intelligence of this party's marching out of Fort-Augustus, they concluded that there was some treachery in the case, and that they were surrounded on all sides. However, they determined, though but eight in number, rather than yield their throats to be butchered,

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to sell their lives as dear as they could, and to die like men of honour; and the Prince said, "Lads! let us live for a better day if we can."

The Prince examined all their guns, which were in pretty good order, and said he hoped they should do some execution before they were killed: "For my own part," said he, "I have been bred a sportsman, can charge quick; am a tolerable marksman, and shall be sure of one at least."

He then left the hut, and marched at the head of his handful to a small hill above the wood, that had a commanding prospect of Glenkengie. They got there unobserved, under cover of the wood: the Prince then sent Cluns and Mr Cameron to take a narrow view of the party; and resolved, that night, to go to the top of Mullantagart, a high, steep, and craggy mountain in the Braes of Glenkengie.

When these scouts had got to the Strath of Cluns, the women told them, that the party was about two hundred of Lord Loudon's regiment, under Captain Grant of Knockadow in Strathspay; that they had carried away ten milk-cows, which Cluns had bought after he was plundered before; and that they had found out the hut the Prince had in the wood of Torvelt, and said they were gone to fetch Barrisdale's cattle to the camp.

The Prince and his party remained all day on the top of the mountain without a morsel of food. In the evening another son of Cluns came, and told them that his father would meet them at a



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certain place in the hills somewhat distant, with provisions. Cluns's son returned to let his father know that he might expect them. At night, Charles with his attendants set out, and travelled through most dreadful ways, passing amongst rocks and stumps of trees, which tore their clothes and limbs: at one time the guides proposed they should halt and stay all night; but Charles, though exhausted to the greatest degree, insisted on going to meet Cluns. At last, worn out with fatigue and want of food, he was not able to go on without help; and the two guides holding each of them one of his arms, supported him through the last part of this laborious journey. When they came to the place appointed, they found Cluns and his son, who had a cow killed, and part of it dressed for them.

From this place they went to the Braes of Achnacary, and waded through the water of Arkey, which reached up to the mid-thigh; in which wet condition the Prince lay all night and next day, in the open air, yet caught no cold.

In a day or two, Lochgary and Dr Cameron returned from Lochiel, (to whom they had been sent) and told it, as Lochiel's opinion, that the Prince would be safer where Lochiel was skulking, which pleased the Prince very much.

The next night the Prince set out with Lochgary, Dr Cameron, Alexander (Cluns's son), the Rev. Mr John Cameron, and three servants: They travelled in the night and slept all the day, till

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they got to Lochiel, who was then among the hills between the Braes of Badenoch and Athol.

When the French officers, already mentioned, came to Lochiel, some person told him these officers had left their letters with Alexander Macleod, one of the Prince's aides-de-camp. Though this proved true, yet as they themselves had not told it to Lochiel, it made him suspect them to be the government's spies.

The Prince was very desirous to see those officers, but the Rev. Mr John Cameron told him what both Lochiel, the doctor, and he himself were afraid of; upon which the Prince resolved to act in this affair with great caution, and said, He could not help observing, that it probably might be as they conjectured, because if they were not spies, it was surprising that two men, without one word of Erse, and quite strangers in the country, could escape the troops, who were always in motion, in quest of himself (the Prince) and his followers.

However, as these officers had told Lochiel, "That they had never seen the Prince," he (the Prince) laid a scheme to see them safely; and therefore, he wrote a letter himself to them, to this purpose, viz. "That, to avoid falling into his enemies hands, he was under a necessity to retire to a remote country, where he had no person with him, except one Captain Drummond, and a servant; and as he could not remove from where he was, without danger to himself and them, he

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had sent Captain Drummond with this letter; and as he could repose entire confidence in him, he desired they would tell whatever message they had to the bearer, Captain Drummond, and take his advice, as to their conduct." This letter the Prince resolved to deliver himself, as Captain Drummond: Accordingly, the officers were sent for, and were introduced to the Prince under this borrowed name.

The Prince then delivered the letter to them, with which they seemed very well pleased, and told him every thing they had to say; which, he afterwards said, was then of no great consequence, as his affairs now stood. They continued there two days, and asked Captain Drummond many questions about the Prince's health, his manner of living, &c.

The Prince thinking the packet left with Mr Alexander Macleod might be of use, sent for it; but as it was in cypher, and directed to the French ambassador, he could make nothing then of them. Lochiel still took care of these officers, till the Prince was ready to go away, when they were conducted to the ship, and when they saw that they had before conversed with the Prince in so free a manner, taking him then really for Captain Drummond, they asked his pardon, and were dashed, which the Prince soon removed.

About the 12th of September, Mr Cameron was sent southward to hire a ship to carry them off from the east coast. The ship was accordingly

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provided, and a messenger dispatched to give the proper notice. But, before his arrival, two friends, who had been employed to watch on the west-coast, had brought accounts, that two French ships waited the Prince at Moidart.

At this time the Prince was concealed in a very romantic habitation made for him by Clunie, in the face of a very rough, high, and rocky mountain, called Letternilichk, a remote place in the great mountain Benalder, full of great stones and crevices, and some scattered wood interspersed. The habitation, called the Cage, in the face of that mountain, was within a small thick bush of wood. There were first some rows of trees laid down, in order to level a floor for the habitation; and as the place was steep, this raised the lower side to an equal height with the other; and these trees, in the way of joists or planks, were levelled with earth and gravel. There were betwixt the trees, growing naturally on their own roots, some stakes fixed in the earth, which, with the trees, were interwoven with ropes, made of heath and birch twigs, up to the top of the Cage, it being of a round or rather oval shape; and the whole thatched and covered over with fog. This whole fabric hung, as it were, by a large tree, which reclined from the one end all along the roof to the other, and which gave it the name of the Cage, and by chance there happened to be two stones at a small distance from one another, in the side next the precipice, resembling the pillars of a chimney, where the fire was

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placed. The smoke had its vent out here, all along the face of the rock, which was so much of the same colour, that one could discover no difference in the clearest day. The Cage was no larger than to contain six or seven persons; four of whom were frequently employed playing at cards, one idle looking on, one baking, and another firing bread and cooking. Here his Royal Highness remained till the 13th of September.

The Prince on being informed that the French ships were arrived, set out that very night, but not without sending to all his friends around an offer of the same opportunity. Some arrived in time; several had not the good fortune.

The Prince reached Moidart, Sept. 19, 1746; and, after seeing all his friends into the ships, (among whom were Lochiel and Roy Stuart) embarked next day on board the *Bellona* of St Maloe, a Nantes privateer, of thirty-two carriage and twelve swivel guns, and three hundred and forty men, brought thither by Colonel Warren of Dillon's regiment, who had gone over to France for that purpose. They immediately set sail for France; where they landed safely at Roscort, near three leagues west of Morlaix, on the 29th of the same month, after a pleasant voyage; though narrowly escaping Admiral Lestock's squadron, which was then on the coast of Brittany.

From the foregoing account it will be seen, That the Prince was twice in danger of being shot; five times in danger of being drowned, having been in

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great storms in little open boats; nine times pursued, and in sight of the men of war and armed vessels.—Many times in danger of being taken, often seeing his pursuers, and sometimes being within hearing of them.—Six times miraculously escaped being taken.

He was often almost famished for want of meat and drink; must often inevitably have starved, were it not for some favourable acts of Providence that exceeded all human aid or hopes.

He was mostly obliged to lie in miserable huts, having no other bed than the bare ground or heath; and often lay on wild mountains, without any other covering than the canopy of heaven, with heavy dews and rains. Add to all these, that he had frequent returns of the bloody flux.

Shortly after the defeat at Culloden, a plan was formed by many of the chiefs to take arms, and accordingly on the 8th of May, the Lord Lovat, Lochiel, Major Kennedy, Glenbucket, Lochgary, Alex. Macleod, Dr Cameron, Roy Stuart, Barrisdale's son, Secretary Murray, and others, about thirteen, assembled at Muirlaggen in the isle of Morar, near the head of Loch-Arkaig, when the following resolutions were proposed and agreed to:—

We, subscribers, heads of Clans, commanders and leaders, do hereby unanimously agree, and solemnly promise forthwith, with the utmost expedition, to raise in arms, for the interest of his Royal Highness Charles Prince of Wales, and in defence of our

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Resolutions of the Highland Chiefs.

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country, all the able-bodied men that all and every one of us can command or raise, within our respective interests or properties.

*Item*, We hereby promise and agree, that the following Clans, viz. Lochail, Glengary, Clanronald, Stuarts of Appin, Keppoch, Barrisdale, Mackinnon, and Macleods, shall rendezvous on Thursday next the 15th instant, at Auchnecarry in the braes of Lochaber.

*Item*, We also propose and agree, that neither of us shall discover or reveal, to any of our men or inferior officers, the resolutions of our present meeting, or the day and place appointed for our rendezvous, till such time as our respective corps are assembled.

*Item*, To facilitate the junction of our army, with all possible speed, it is agreed, that the Frasers of Aird, and others our friends on the north side of the river Ness, shall join the people of Glenmoriston and Glengary; and that the Frasers of Stratherrick, the Macintoshes, and Macphersons, shall assemble and meet at the most convenient place in Badenoch, on Thursday the 15th current.

*Item*, The Macgregors, Menzies, and Glenlyon's people, shall march to Rannoch, and join the Rannoch and Athol men; and be ready to receive intelligence and orders to meet the main body in the braes of Mar, or any other place that shall be most convenient.

*Item*, It is agreed, that Major-General Gordon of Glenbucket, and Colonel Roy Stuart, shall advertise Lord Lewis Gordon, Lord Ogilvie, Lord Pitsligo, the Farquharsons, and the other principal gentlemen of the North, with the resolutions taken at this meeting; and that they shall agree among themselves as to a place of rendezvous, so as to be able to join the army where it shall be judged most proper.

*Item*, That Clunie Macpherson, and Colonel Roy Stuart, shall advertise the principal gentlemen of the Macintoshes, of our resolutions.

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Resolutions of the Highland Chiefs.

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*Item*, It is agreed, that there shall only be one captain, lieutenant, and ensign, two serjeants, and two corporals to every company of forty men ; and an adjutant, quarter-master, and surgeon, to every regiment.

*Item*, That every corps shall appoint an officer and a number of men, not exceeding twelve, to remain in the country ; with ample powers to punish deserters, who, immediately at their first appearance in the country, are to be hanged, unless they can produce a pass or furlough from a general officer.

*Lastly*, We further promise and engage ourselves, each to the other, to stand and abide by these our resolutions, for the interest of his Royal Highness, and the good of our country, which we apprehend to be inseparable, to the last drop of our blood ; and never to lay down our arms, or make a separate peace, without the general consent of the whole. And in case any one engaged in this association shall make separate terms for himself, he shall be looked upon as a traitor to his Prince, and treated by us as an enemy.

The meeting being over, Lochiel and Murray crossed the lake again ; and about four or five days after this, Murray crossed the lake again to Glendesherrrie, on the opposite side of the water to Lord Lovat, and was with that Lord an hour or two.

About ten days after this, Lochiel accordingly got a body of three or four hundred men ; Barrisdale and Lochgary went with one hundred and fifty men each ; but as soon as Lochgary got pay for his men, he went away, promising to return in a few days, and to observe Lord Loudon's motions ; but he performed neither, for that Earl, in about two days after the men were got together, marched



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*Lochiel and his people dispersed.*

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through Glengary, and had certainly taken Lochiel, but for some of his scouts. Barrisdale, before Loudon went to Achnicary, told Lochiel he would go and bring more men to them, and left his son with a few.

Early in the morning a body of men appeared marching over a hill, whom Lochiel believed to be Barrisdale's men, but some of his scouts apprised him of his danger, and told him they were Loudon's men, for they had red crosses on their bonnets. On this Lochiel dispersed his people, and crossed the loch in a boat, which he had kept to prevent his being surprised. Hereupon he wrote letters to some of the Chiefs who had agreed to take arms, advising them of the risk of assembling, and of the propriety of dispersing their people; but urging them to keep their arms, as he entertained the hope that the French government would not fail to support them. Lord Loudon's approach to Auchnicarry, with a considerable body of troops, prevented any future meeting, and the few that had got together were made to disperse. Lochiel, although bad of his wounds, was thus obliged to shift from his own country to the Braes of Rannoch; near which, about the 20th of June, in a hill called Benouchk, Cluny Macpherson met him, and Sir Stuart Threipland, physician, who attended him for the cure of his wounds. Cluny brought them from thence to Benalder, where they remained together for near three months, when they were joined by the Prince.

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Reception of Prince Charles in France.

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Intelligence was no sooner brought to Paris that Prince Charles was landed at Roscort, than the Castle of St Anthoine was ordered to be fitted up for his reception. A great number of young noblemen attended his brother, to meet him on the road, and conducted him to Paris; where he could not be prevailed upon to stay for any refreshment, but went directly to Versailles. The King, though at that time in Council on some affairs of importance, immediately quitted it to receive him; and, as he advanced, took him in his arms, with all the marks of the most tender affection, saying, "My most dear Prince, I thank Heaven for the extreme pleasure it gives me to see you returned in safety, after so many fatigues and dangers. You have proved, that all the great qualities of the heroes and philosophers are united in you; and I hope, that one day you will receive the reward of such extraordinary merit."

After staying about a quarter of an hour with the King, he passed to the Queen's apartment, who welcomed him with all imaginable demonstrations of good-will and satisfaction. The whole court crowded about him to pay their compliments, as he went through the rooms in going out of the palace. Scarce could they have testified greater joy, or expressed themselves in terms more warm, had Monsieur le Dauphin been engaged in the same dangerous expedition, and returned from it in safety.

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Reception of Prince Charles in France.

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The Queen professed the most sincere regard for him. Her Majesty and the Princess Sobieski had passed some years of their youth together; they had contracted the most intimate and lasting friendship with each other; and it is therefore natural to suppose that the favourite son of a person who had been so dear to her, and who had so much the resemblance of his mother, could be indifferent to her. She always looked upon him with a kind of maternal tenderness; and whenever he came to court (which till the signing of the peace he did once or twice every week) she used to keep him in conversation for whole hours together, and make him recite to her, and the ladies who were with her, his adventures, the detail of which seldom failed of drawing tears from her eyes; nor were the young Princesses less affected with the melancholy story.

This was sufficient to flatter a youthful heart; yet did he not appear at all elevated with it. The memory of his disappointment was yet too recent, and the news which was continually arriving, of the commitments, trials, and executions of some of his most faithful followers, filled him with an anxiety which left but little room for pleasurable ideas.

Punctilios, however, were to be observed. The little visit he made at Versailles was as it were *incog*. It was necessary he should pay his compliments in form, and in the character his father had conferred upon him, that of Prince Regent of

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Reception of Prince Charles in France.

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Scotland, England and Ireland. Accordingly, in about ten days he set out from the castle, with a great parade and equipage.

Into the first coach went the Lords Ogilvie and Elcho, with the venerable Glenbucket, and Mr Kelly his secretary:—In the second went the Prince, with Lord Lewis Gordon and the eldest Lochiel, who was master of the horse to him; two pages richly habited lolled on the boot; and ten footmen, in the livery of the character he assumed, walked on each side:—In the third went four gentlemen of his bed-chamber; one of whom was Captain Stafford, a long time prisoner in Newgate; the younger Lochiel, with several gentlemen, followed on horseback. All made a very grand appearance. The Prince was dressed with uncommon elegance. His coat was rose-coloured velvet, embroidered with silver, and lined with silver-tissue; his waistcoat was a rich gold brocade, with a spangled fringe set on in scollops; the cockade in his hat, and the buckles in his shoes, were diamonds; the George at his bosom, and the order of St Andrew, which he wore also, tied by a piece of green ribbon to one of the buttons of his waistcoat, were prodigiously illustrated with large brilliants. He afterwards supped with the King, Queen, and Royal Family; and all who attended him were magnificently entertained at the several tables appointed for them, according to the rank they held under him.

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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The French Court took all imaginable pains to lull him into a forgetfulness of the breach of past promises, and persuade him that his concerns would now be taken into immediate consideration. To give a gloss to this deception, that minister to whom was imputed the blame of countermanding those troops which had been actually embarked in order to proceed to Scotland, was removed from his post, and one who was supposed a favourer of the Prince's pretensions, put into his place. Several new regiments were raised, as it was given out, for his service; and the command of two of them, which were wholly composed of English, Scotch, and Irish, was given to Lord Ogilvie and the younger Lochiel. It was the former of these, who, being afterwards sent into the Low Countries, fought with so much desperation at the battle of La Val. These regiments marched to Dieppe, Boulogne, and Calais, which answered the end of the ministry, as it hindered the embarkation of the English forces for Flanders so soon as they were expected, and indeed wanted there.

This, and several other methods, the French took to sooth the Prince, and to make him subservient to their purpose; but though he saw through their whole designs, he could no way help himself, as affairs then stood, therefore he put on a mask as well as the French ministry; he looked upon all their promises to be made with no intention to perform any; and said, "He was

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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sure the French wished him well any where but in England."

In France the Prince amused himself with plays, operas, paying and receiving visits, &c.: after being there some time, he made a tour to Madrid, *incog*. His stay at Madrid was about five or six days, and then, after making a tour of near four months, he returned to Paris.

But whatever disappointments the Prince might have met with in the tour he had been making, none seemed to affect him so much as the step his brother had just taken, of becoming an ecclesiastic. A resolution so detestable to the people of England, and consequently so detrimental to the interest of the Stuart family, it must be confessed, had a right to alarm him.

The discontent of the Prince, however, never broke out in any disrespectful terms against his father: he continued to drink his health every day at dinner, with the same warmth as ever. He contented himself with omitting that of his brother, and forbidding all who were about him ever to mention his name in his presence. The resolution of the latter was sudden and unexpected. During the whole time of Charles's absence on his expedition in Scotland, nor for a long time after his return, he never gave any symptoms of an over-flaming devotion, seemed as little addicted to superstition as the Prince himself, than whom no man was less; and rather more delighted with what are called the gaieties and pleasures of life,

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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till a little before he declared his intention of going back to Rome; and then indeed he put on a more grave and solemn air, befitting the character he intended to assume.

From this time, till after the battle of La Val, couriers were almost every week passing and re-passing between the court of the Prince, and several parts of Europe, which shewed there was some design of great moment in hand; yet the nature of it was kept so close, that not the least hint of it transpired: one particular however was spoke of, which perhaps the Prince's disdain of the proposition made him think unworthy of being at any pains to conceal.

Cardinal Tencin who was indebted for his elevation to the interest and favour of the Chevalier de St George, came frequently to the castle of St Anthoine, to pay his compliments, as he said, to the son of a person to whom he was so highly obliged. In one of those visits, after many protestations of the unfeigned zeal he had for the service of their illustrious family, he took occasion of giving some broad hints, that in spite of the present circumstances of affairs, the ministry might possibly find out some expedient to gratify him with the succours he demanded, provided, that in case of a restoration to the crown of Great Britain, the kingdom of Ireland were yielded up, and made a province to France, as an equivalent for the expence the government must necessarily be at in such an undertaking.

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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The Cardinal had scarce finished what he had to say, when Charles started from his seat, and not able to contain how much he was irritated, cried out, "No, Lord Cardinal; all or nothing; no partition!" These words, it seems, he repeated several times, walking backwards and forwards in an agitation which was not usual in him. The Cardinal, perceiving how his proposal was relished, begged he would make no mention of the thing to the King or ministry, it being, he said, only a project of his own, which the love and regard he ever had for their illustrious house, had put into his head. To which Charles replied, that he should not give himself the trouble even to think of it.

The subjects of France beginning now to feel the miseries of war, particularly the trading part of the nation, by the almost total stagnation of their commerce, the ministry thought it time to think of peace: but they were not sincere in their professions, and the negotiations were accordingly broke off. Charles had private intelligence of all that passed, had several conferences with Monsieur le Comte de Maurepas, and some others of the ministry, upon it; who then gave him fresh assurances, that it was only to amuse the English, and nothing would be done which could prove of any effectual prejudice to his claim.

They thus cajoled and flattered an unhappy exile, who had it not in his power to redress whatever treatment might be given him. His misfortunes made them look upon him as a fit engine to



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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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keep by them, ready to play off whenever they found it necessary, either to impede Great Britain in the success of her arms, or to force her into a peace upon their own terms. Both these views must have been disappointed by a rupture with a person whose pretensions alone could give her any disquiet: for it cannot be supposed that all this was calculated merely to impose upon him, and keep him in good humour, but through him to perplex the English ministry, and involve the nation in continual apprehensions of an invasion on his account. Charles was not blind to their schemes, and required all his prudence, joined to the repeated commands of his father, in all the answers he sent to his letters of complaint, to oblige him to restrain, so long as he did, that indignation which at last broke out. He might, it may be said, have found in some other court, as well as in that of France, the same asylum; but might possibly there too have met with the same deception as here, to serve some purpose or other of their own. So hard was the condition of his fate, that which way soever he turned, he found himself constrained to become the instrument of distressing a people he had been always taught it was his province to regard with the tenderest affection.

Notwithstanding the success of the French arms in the Low Countries, the ministry found themselves obliged to listen to terms of accommodation from the loss of their colonies, of their trading vessels, and the entire destruction of their com-

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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merce. The naval force of Great Britain spread the seas, carrying terror wherever they appeared: not a ship dared to venture out, and they were scarce safe in their harbours. Nor was this all the distresses they laboured under; a blasted harvest, a scarcity of provisions, an universal decay of the inland trade, the remonstrances of the clergy, the petitions of the Parliament of Paris, the discontent of the whole body of the people, which even threatened a rebellion, united to hurry the government into the only measures for averting and retrieving so many evils.

When the negociations were arrived at such a forwardness, that a peace was scarce to be doubted of, those even who wished it most for the common good of their country, expressed a good deal of concern for the Prince, easily foreseeing, that, on the conclusion of it, he would be obliged to leave France, as his father had been. Most people expected to see him extremely dejected on the occasion; and some who knew the greatness of his spirit, imagined he would of himself leave the dominions of France before the preliminaries were signed, and not give the King and ministry the trouble of signifying to him that he must do so.

But his conduct soon shewed how mistaken all the conjectures formed of him had been. Whether it were, that he was really pleased with being no longer under the necessity of dissembling his sentiments in regard to the French ministry, or that the force of his resolution set him above being

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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concerned at any thing that could befall him. But it is certain he appeared more lively, gay and spiritous than ever. He hired an extreme fine hotel on the Quai de Theatin, on the banks of the Seine, opposite to the Louvre, for himself and the chief of his retinue, on purpose, as he said, to be near the opera, the comedy, and other diversions of Paris; some one or other of which he now very seldom failed of partaking every evening. Whenever any discourse happened in his presence concerning the congress which was soon to assemble at Aix-la-Chapelle, he seemed not to regard any thing was said on that score, but either sung, or found some way of waving or making any reply.

He did not presently refrain going to Versailles, Fontainebleau, Choisy, or wherever the court was; but it was observed, he neither went so frequently, nor staid so long as he had been accustomed; and rather chose to avoid than seek any private conferences with the King. The first public indication he gave how little he prized the future friendship of France, was, to cause a great number of medals to be cast, with his head, and this inscription, "CAROLUS WALLIE PRINCEPS; and on the reverse, Britannia, and shipping, with this motto, AMOR ET SPES BRITANNIE.

Of these some were of silver, others of copper. The latter sort he took care to have distributed so well, that few of any tolerable rank but had one of them. Every body was surprised at the device. Some knew not what to make of it; but those

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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who considered that France was reduced to the condition of being glad of a peace, entirely by the bravery and successes of the English fleet, looked upon it as an insult. The ministry were so highly offended at it, that they complained of it to the King, and pretended that some notice ought to be taken of it. To which, his Majesty replied, without any warmth, that the Prince doubtless had his reasons; but whatever they were, as he could not be called to an account, nothing should be said on the occasion.

This, however, made a very great noise, as the medals were not only in the hands of so many people in Paris, but were also sent over to England, Scotland, and several other parts of Europe. The Prince of Conde, shewed he was excessively piqued at Charles on this occasion: for meeting him one day in Luxemburg gardens, he told him with an air of pleasantry, but which also had somewhat of a sneer in it, that the device of his medals was not altogether so applicable, as the British navy were no very good friends to him. To which Charles made this reply: "That is very true, Prince! but nevertheless I am a friend to the navy against all enemies whatever; as I shall always look upon the glory of England as my own; and her glory is in her navy."

The Prince, unwilling to make a serious affair of it, said no more, but left him to join some other company; to whom, it seems, he related what had passed, not without inveighing with some heat

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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against the ingratitude (as he termed it) of Prince Charles.

Soon after the French plenipotentiaries had set out to meet those of the other powers at Aix-la-Chapelle, in order to open the congress, the Prince entered his protest there, against all that should be concerted or agreed upon, in that or any other congress, in prejudice to his title and pretensions. This, as it was a thing of form, and had been done both by his father and grandfather, on the assembling of every congress since the family were excluded, was no more than might be expected; and indeed to have omitted it, would have been deemed as a tacit relinquishing his claim.

In this protest there was something more remarkable than had been in any of those which had preceded it. The Prince, after declaring what has been already specified, adds, "That whatever might be insinuated to the contrary, he would never accept of any offers, or enter into any conditions, for giving up his claim, which he was determined to maintain by all the means Heaven should put in his power; and should reject all such proposals as the acceptance of must oblige him to abandon those who adhered to and depended on him."

This latter part looked like a confirmation of some reports which were whispered at that time, that there was a project on foot for compromising that affair which had for so many years divided the subjects of Great Britain, and that proposals

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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had been made to Charles, that, on renouncing for ever all claim to the crown of Great Britain and Ireland, a perpetual yearly subsidy should be granted him for those kingdoms, sufficient to support the dignity of a Prince; which title should also be allowed him as a branch of the Sobieski line.

After the signing of the preliminaries, Charles went no more to court, but appeared far from being disconcerted at that event. He had determined to contemn his fate, instead of complaining on the severity of it; and kept his resolution to the end, even in the midst of the most shocking and unexpected trials.

It was soon known all over Paris, that, by one of the articles of the treaty, he would be obliged to quit France entirely; and also that the King, being willing to soften the stroke as much as possible, had wrote a letter to the states of Friburg, desiring they would receive him in a manner becoming his birth, and as a Prince who was very dear to him. But neither the one nor the other had any effect on the deportment of the Prince. He continued to live as a person wholly disinterested, and regardless of what was doing, till the King, who had doubtless expected he would have gone of his own accord, finding he did not, ordered Cardinal Tencin to acquaint him with the necessity there was for his departure.

The Cardinal delivered this message in the most tender terms, and spared no arguments to convince him of the regret his Most Christian Majesty felt

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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at finding himself constrained, for the sake of giving peace to Europe, to make a concession so disagreeable to himself. To this he gave very short and evasive answers; and the Cardinal was obliged to leave him, without being able to give the King any positive account whether he was ready to conform to his intentions or not.

The King nevertheless waited the result for thirteen or fourteen days; but, being informed that he made not the least preparation for his departure, sent the Duke de Gesvres with a message of much the same nature with that the Cardinal had delivered. But this had no more effect than the former. The Prince only told him, that he had so little expected the step that had been taken, that he had not yet sufficient time to consider how to behave in it.

This answer produced a delay of near a fortnight more, when the Duke de Gesvres, was sent a second time; and, on his expatiating on the necessity the King was under of executing this article of the treaty, Charles replied, with some warmth, That there was a prior treaty between himself and his Most Christian Majesty, from which he could not depart with honour. It was in vain the Duke urged him to be more explicit; the other only bid him deliver what he had said to the King, who would know his meaning.

Neither of these visits from the Duke, nor the purport of his errand, were made a secret, either by the one side or the other. And there was so

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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little appearance that Charles had any intention to leave Paris, that his people bought several pieces of new furniture for his house. Among others, he sent for the King's goldsmith, who had been employed by himself before, and ordered him to make a service of plate to the value of an hundred thousand crowns, to be ready against a particular day he mentioned; which the goldsmith promised not to fail in. But it so happened, that immediately after, he received orders to prepare such a large quantity for the King's use against that time, that he found it impossible to comply with both: on which he waited on Charles, and entreated he would allow him some few days longer, telling him the occasion. But he would not admit of the excuse, insisting in being first served, as he had given the first orders.

The goldsmith was in a very great dilemma on this occasion; but thought the most prudent way to extricate himself from it, would be to acquaint the King; who no sooner heard the story, than he commanded that the Prince should be first served; and that the value of the plate should be paid by the comptroller of his household, without any expence to the other.

It is probable the King imagined the hurry he shewed for having this plate got ready by such a time, was occasioned by his designing to leave Paris on that day; for not till above a week after it had been delivered were any more messages sent to him.



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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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But it appeared that the Prince was so far from any such intention, that he resolved to push things to the last extremity. This fine service of plate, was on the score of a grand entertainment he made; at which were present, the Princess Talmont, a near relation to the Queen, the Marchioness de Sprimont, Madame de Maizieuse, the Duke de Bouillon, and above thirty others of the nobility of both sexes, and several foreigners of great distinction.

About this time it was that the two Lords, who were sent hostages from Great Britain, arrived in Paris. On which Charles expressed great marks of dissatisfaction; and said publicly, that the tables were sadly turned upon England, since her word could not be relied upon, without such pledges as are scarce ever granted but by a conquered nation, and French faith passed current for all that was to be done on her part.

The French court having received repeated complaints from the English ministry, that he was not yet removed, thought proper to remind him once more what was expected from him. Accordingly the Duke de Gesvres waited on him a third time, and acquainted him also that the states of Friburg, had returned a most obliging answer to the King's letter on his account, and were ready to receive the honour of his coming to reside in their canton, with all the demonstrations of respect due to his birth and virtues, and in their power to give. To this the Prince only replied, that he

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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hoped to find a time to return the good will of the states; without giving the Duke any satisfaction whether he accepted their offer or not.

The King on this dispatched a courier to Rome, with an account of all that had passed. Charles sent also to his father; and the court being willing to wait the result of this, occasioned a yet farther delay. And as no part of these proceedings were a secret, there was scarce any thing else talked of in Paris. Whenever the Prince appeared in any public walks, all the company followed the path he took, as impelled by an irresistible attraction. When he went to the opera or comedy, the attention of the whole audience was fixed upon him, regardless of what was presented on the stage: the moment of his entrance into the box, a general whisper in his favour ran from one side of the theatre to the other; and few of the fair sex but let fall tears of mingled pity and admiration; while he alone seemed above a sensibility of his own misfortunes, and talked to the young nobility, with whom he was perpetually surrounded, in the same easy, cheerful, and affable manner he had always done.

The magnanimity with which he supported this last stroke, which was looked upon as so fatal to his hopes, was now the general topic of eulogium in all places whatsoever. The Princess Talmont herself spoke so largely of it, even in the King's presence, that she was forbid the court;

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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and several other very great personages were highly in disgrace on that account.

The ministry being now fully convinced, that it would be impossible for them to make any future use of him in their schemes for distressing England, wished nothing more than his destruction: and took this opportunity of representing to the King, that his Majesty had been too passive in this affair; that he had suffered himself to be affronted in his own dominions, his authority called in question, and the affections of his subjects alienated in favour of a stranger; adding, that it would be too great a condescension to wait the return of the courier from Rome. On which the King was prevailed on to send the Duke de Gesvres a fourth time to him, and insist on his immediate removal.

Charles now expressed some impatience; and told the Duke, that, though he should always treat with respect any one who came to him from the King, yet he was sorry to find he had the trouble of repeating so often a business to which he could give no ear, without hearing it from the King himself. The Duke replied, that such a thing was impossible, as his Royal Highness went not to court, and it could not be expected his Majesty would come to the Quai de Theatin in person. "In short then, my Lord Duke," said Charles, "I have nothing more to say, but what I already said. Pardon me, I have some business:" and with these words went out of the room, leaving the Duke in the greatest confusion.

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Conduct of Prince Charles in France.

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The King, however, being impatient to get rid of him at any rate, and as yet loath to proceed to extremities, vouchsafed to write a letter to him with his own hand, and sent with it a blank order, to be filled up by himself for what yearly sum he pleased; both which were delivered by the Duke de Gesvres.

Charles read the letter twice over, and having paused a little, threw the order from him with disdain, saying, He neither wanted nor would receive any favours of that kind from his Most Christian Majesty; and, as for the rest, the thing required of him was not consistent with honour.

This ambiguous proceeding both perplexed and exasperated the King. A council was called upon it, and it was there resolved, that Monsieur le Count de Maurepas, who had always maintained a good understanding with the Prince, should go to him, and expostulate with him on his late conduct, nor leave him till he had obliged him to declare, in express terms, what was his intention; and withal to intimate to him, that if he did not conform to the present necessity of affairs, by leaving the kingdom with a good grace, the ministry would be obliged to compel him to it, in order to fulfil their engagements with Great Britain. "The ministers! the ministers!" cried the Prince with the greatest disdain: "if you will oblige me, my Lord Count, tell the King your master, that I am born to break all the schemes of his ministers."

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The King signs an order for his being arrested.

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Charles had probably a double view in acting in the manner he did. First, to convince all Europe, that the most solemn engagements had been entered into between him and the court of France, and were all broke on their part. And, secondly, to shew that court, that he was not to be any farther imposed upon; and resented, as he ought, the artifices they had practised on him: both which views he knew it could not be in the power of the King and ministry to disappoint.

The courier being at length arrived from Rome, brought a letter from the Chevalier to Charles, inclosed in one to the King, open, as was said, for his Majesty's perusal. The letter it was said, contained a command to him to quit the French territories, but without mentioning any time in which he should obey; and for this reason he thought himself at liberty to stay where he was, till he had fixed on a proper place for his future residence, as he had some reluctance to go to Friburg.

The ministry, however, knew nothing of his intentions, he being determined to give them no previous satisfaction; and imagining he would pay as little regard to his father's injunctions as he had done to their remonstrances, pressed the King to give orders for his being arrested, and conducted by force out of the kingdom; to which his Majesty, seeing no other means of complying with the treaty, at last consented; though, being in the Queen's apartment when the order was brought to sign, he burst into this pathetic exclamation,

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Preparations for carrying it into effect.

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“ Poor Prince! how difficult it is for a King to be a true friend.” This order, signed but at three o'clock, was blazed all over Paris before evening. A gentleman of Charles's retinue heard of it, and gave him intelligence; but he was so far from giving any credit to it, that he cried somewhat hastily, “ Pish! pish! an idle rumour; they know I will obey my father.”

The day of execution being fixed, and the orders given to Monsieur the Duke de Biron, Colonel of the French guards, a council of war was held at the Duke's house, in the night between Monday and Tuesday the 11th of December, which was composed of the field officers and six serjeants. They concerted the methods for executing this enterprise: the officers who were to have a share in it were commanded to repair to Mr de Vaudreville's before day, in order to prevent their being perceived. The Duke de Biron went thither himself, and caused ten ells of crimson silk cord to be bought; and having drawn out twelve hundred men of his regiment, he ordered them to invest the Palace-Royal. The serjeants of the regiment, armed with cuirasses and scull-caps, had directions to be in the passage to the opera house, and in the entrances of the houses bordering upon it. The serjeants of the grenadiers, as being the most intrepid, were ordered to seize the Prince: two companies of grenadiers took post in the courtyard of the kitchens, where the Duke de Biron, disguised, and in a coach, waited to see the success

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Preparations for carrying it into effect.

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of this enterprise. The musqueteers (a body of French horse-guards) had orders to be ready to mount on horseback: the guet (a body of men kept for guarding the streets in Paris) was distributed in all the neighbouring streets; troops were posted upon the road from the Palace-Royal quite to Vincennes; hatchets and scaling-ladders were prepared, locksmiths were directed to attend, in order to take the Prince by a scalade, in case he threw himself into some house, and there should resolve to stand a siege. Dr Vernage the physician, and three surgeons, were also ordered to be in readiness to dress the wounded.

The measures thus taken, with all this precaution and secrecy, were notwithstanding observed. The Prince received that morning several notes giving him advice of the whole design. At the Thuilleries likewise he was advertised of it; and as he passed through the street St Honore, going to the opera, he heard a voice call to him, "Prince, return, they are going to arrest you; the Palace-Royal is beset." Notwithstanding these advices he went on; and in alighting from his coach, at the passage of the opera-house, he found the guards doubled, with their bayonets fixed on the muzzles of their muskets, the guet turning passengers out of the streets, and making the coaches file off; and he was surrounded by the serjeants dressed in grey clothes, as if they had been servants who were desirous to get a sight of him; a popular curiosity to which he had been much accustomed. One serjeant in

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Prince Charles arrested.

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his uniform advanced, under pretence of dispersing the mob, which was to be the signal. At that instant two serjeants seized him by the arms behind, two seized his hands, one seized him round the middle, and another seized his legs. In this condition they carried him to a great gate at the end of the passage, which opened into the courtyard of the kitchens. Mr de Vaudreville and the other officers waited for the Prince behind this gate, which they opened to receive him, "Monseigneur," says Mr de Vaudreville, "I arrest you in the name of the King my master." The Prince, without the least change in his countenance, answered, "The manner is a little too violent." According to their orders they carried him into a hall upon the ground-floor, where they demanded his arms. "I shall not deliver them to you," says he, "but you may take them." They took from him his sword, a knife with two blades, and two pistols. He said, they must not be surprised at seeing him have pistols, for he had constantly carried a pair in his pockets ever since he returned from Scotland. Mr de Vaudreville begged of him not to make any attempt either upon his own life, or that of any other person; the Prince gave him his word he would not. Then Mr de Vaudreville went to the Duke de Biron's coach, to give an account of what had passed. He informed him of the Prince's being disarmed, and of his having made no resistance. The Duke judged, nevertheless, that, for the greater security, it was necessary to have him



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Prince Charles arrested

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bound, which was executed by Mr de Vaudreville, who, in doing it, made his excuse to the Prince, by assuring him that these precautions were taken out of regard to his person, and solely to prevent his Royal Highness from making any attempt upon himself. "I am not used to such proceedings," replied the Prince, "and I shall not say whether they are justifiable or not, but the disgrace cannot affect me, it can only affect your master." Mr de Vaudreville, while he was causing him to be bound, never ceased declaring how much he was chagrined at having such a commission to execute. "It is very mortifying for an officer," replies the Prince. They proceeded however: both his arms and legs were tied, and they bound him with so many cords, that, looking disdainfully upon them, he asked, "Have ye not enough now?" "Not yet," answered Mr de Vaudreville. At which words the Prince darted a menacing look at him. They then put him into a hired coach, that waited in the court-yard of the kitchens. Mr de Vaudreville placed himself by his side, and two captains over against him. Two officers on horseback rode with a hand upon the door on each side of the coach: six grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, mounted behind, and the rest of the soldiers surrounded the coach on foot. The whole train took their way through the suburb of St Anthoine; and the Duke de Biron, after seeing them set out, stepped from his coach into his chaise, to go and give an account of the whole to the King.

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And carried to Vincennes.

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The Prince suffered himself to be thus conducted, without allowing one word to drop from him which was unworthy the greatness of his soul, never uttering so much as the least complaint, or any reproachful expression. The coach stopped in the suburb of St Anthoine, where a detachment of musqueteers waited for it, and where they put fresh horses to the coach; and, upon seeing these preparations, the Prince asked, "Where are we going?" "To Hanover, Monseigneur," says Mr de Vaudreville, "they have changed horses that your Royal Highness may not be kept too long upon the road." The Prince continued his journey without saying a word more, and they conducted him to Vincennes. The Marquis de Chatelet, who was known to the Prince, and beloved by him, had just received orders to put him in the tower. The coach arrives and passes the bridge, which was that moment drawn up. As soon as the Prince had a sight of Mr de Chatelet, he calls to him, "I should be glad to embrace you: come to me, my friend, you see I cannot come to you." Mr de Chatelet perceiving he was bound, cried out with horror, and running to him caused him to be unbound, and assisted in it, trembling, and scarce able to support himself. "Come, come, my friend," says the Prince, encouraging him, and so walked up the stairs, which consisted of fifty steps, to the chamber appointed for his lodging. Upon entering he coolly surveyed his apartment, the furniture of which consisted of a matted chair, and

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Confined in the Castle of Vincennes.

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a wretched camp-bed. "This," says he, "is not very magnificent." And then asked what was the meaning of those characters which he observed upon the walls of the room. Mr de Chatelet answered, that they were the handy-work of a priest who had made a long abode in that chamber. After some little time Mr de Vaudreville said that his Royal Highness had not been thoroughly searched. Upon which Mr de Chatelet asked the Prince, if he had any thing remaining with which he could make an attempt on himself; whereupon he gave him a pair of compasses, and declared upon his word he had nothing more. Mr de Vaudreville took Mr de Chatelet aside, and after whispering some time together, they returned to the Prince, and searched him so strictly, that Mr de Vaudreville thrust his hands even into the most secret part of his garments. Upon this the Prince shewed in his countenance a mark of great indignation, but he uttered not a word. They found a pocket-book, which they took from him. After this Mr de Chatelet observed, that the Prince's chamber being very small, he could not take a walk in it; and that, having been accustomed to a great deal of exercise, his being inclosed in such a little room might be prejudicial to his health. "Instead of taking one turn, I shall take four," said the Prince. To which Mr de Chatelet replied, that there was next to that a large room, the door of which should be opened, if his Royal Highness should give his word. But, without giving him

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Confined in the Castle of Vincennes.

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time to finish, the Prince interrupted him by saying, "I shall not give my word; I have given it once already, and it was not taken; I shall therefore give it no more." "I am undone," cries Mr de Chatelet, falling at his feet, and pouring out a flood of tears, "Monsieur, this is the most unfortunate day of my whole life." The Prince, with great tenderness, gave him his hand, and said, "I know your friendship for me: I shall never confound the friend with the governor. Do the duties of your office." They asked him at what hour he would sup. He answered, that he had dined heartily, and very late, and that he would call for something when he had a mind to eat. Then he inquired how they had treated the gentlemen his attendants. "Have you," says he, "bound my Englishmen, as you did me? an Englishman is not used to be bound; he is not made for that purpose." A little after he resumed the discourse about his people, thus: "If you have treated the Chevalier Harrington in the same manner you have treated me, I heartily pity the poor man: he is fat, and must have suffered a great deal." At last, finding that they refused to give him any account of the fate of his people, he spoke no more of them, but walked about his chamber, treating the officers appointed for his guard with familiarity and politeness, Mr de Vaudreville being the only person to whom he did not direct his discourse. After having walked a long time, he threw himself upon his bed in his

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His attendants arrested.

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clothes, but it was with difficulty he could compose himself. At last, however, he fell asleep; but his sleep was so disturbed, that the officers of his guard, being frightened, run to his bed-side, where they found him still fast asleep. He continued sleeping till six in the morning, when he awaked, and asked what it was o'clock. Being told, he with a smile, said, "The nights seem here to be somewhat long." He then got up, walked about his chamber, talking freely with the officers about indifferent matters, and treating them as if they had belonged to himself.

The Prince was no sooner arrested, than the Lieutenant de Police, with one hundred and fifty guards, were ordered to his house; but finding the doors shut, were preparing ladders, when some of them finding a back-door, broke it open, entered triumphantly, and seized every person there, even to the scullion, and eat the supper which was preparing for the Prince.

At the same time, Sir David Murray, Sir James Harrington, Mr Gorin, Mr Stafford, Mr Sheridan, and others, both English, Scotch, and Irish, of the Prince's adherents (about forty), were arrested in different parts of the town, and were conducted in the night to the Bastile; but were treated very well in all other respects except their confinement.

The Prince's French servants were set at liberty the next day; and before he left Vincennes, he ordered them to be all paid off, and dismissed.

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Prince Charles quits France.

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On Friday the 13th, at night, Messrs Stafford and Sheridan were released, to prepare for their attendance on the Prince against Sunday morning.

The rest of the gentlemen were all dismissed on the 19th, when Sir James Harrington and Mr Gorin received orders to quit Paris immediately, but gained leave afterwards to stay till the 24th. The others were left at their own liberty to do as they pleased.

The Prince was kept in close confinement for three days at Vincennes, from whence he was conveyed to Fontainebleau, in a coach, with the commandant of the musketeers, accompanied by Mr Sheridan and Mr Stafford in two post chaises.

From Fontainebleau he proceeded on his journey to Avignon, where he staid some weeks, and left it *incog.* taking along with him Colonel Gorin, and three other domestics; and he returned again to Versailles, where he remained four days *incog.* during which time he was frequently with the King and Queen.

While Prince Charles was pursued in the Highlands and subsequently duped by the French ministry, the scaffolds and gibbets were preparing for and in operation on his adherents. Of two hundred and nineteen persons who were tried, seventy-seven were executed, among whom were seventeen officers who were hanged, drawn, and quartered on Kenington Common, near London, nine executed in the same manner at Carlisle, and eleven at York.

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Many of his adherents executed.

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A few obtained pardons, and many were banished to America. The Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromarty, and Lords Balmerino and Lovat, were tried and found guilty of high treason. Cromarty was pardoned; but Kilmarnock, Balmerino, and Lovat were executed; as was also Mr Radcliffe, brother to the Earl of Derwentwater. This gentleman had been engaged in the rebellion in 1715, was convicted and received sentence of death; but, made his escape out of Newgate, and got over to France, where he married the Countess-dowager of Newburgh, by whom he had several children. He had assumed the title of Earl of Derwentwater, and had been taken in the *Esperance*, in his passage to Scotland in November 1745. He was arraigned at the bar of the Court of King's Bench, November 24, 1746, on his former sentence; and the indenture of his person being proved to the satisfaction of the court, they made a rule for his execution, in pursuance of his former sentence.

It is remarkable, that all who were executed, except Lord Kilmarnock, justified what they had done, said they died in a good cause, and declared, that they would do the same again, if they had lived.

Immediately after the suppression of the rebellion, the legislature undertook to establish several regulations in Scotland, which were equally conducive to the happiness of the people and the tranquillity of the united kingdoms. The Highlanders had till that time continued to wear the

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He renounces the Romish Religion.

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military dress of their ancestors, and never went without arms. In consequence of this, they considered themselves as a body of people distinct from the rest of the nation, and were ready upon the shortest notice to second the insurrections of their chiefs. Their habits were now reformed by an act of legislature, and they were compelled to wear clothes of the common fashion. But what contributed still more to their real felicity was the abolition of that hereditary jurisdiction which their chieftains exerted over them. The power of their chieftains was totally destroyed, and every subject in that part of the kingdom was granted a participation in the common liberty.

As it may be interesting to many of our readers to know the fate of Prince Charles, after the vicissitudes he had experienced, we shall here give a sketch of the most remarkable occurrences of his life till his death in 1788.

Charles having been obliged to quit France, took up his residence in Italy, where he lived in a retired manner. Either disgusted with the ceremonies of the Romish church, or looking forward to the period when he might be called to the throne of his fathers, and to remove the bar which separated him from the nation, he came over to London in 1753, and formally renounced the Roman Catholic religion in a chapel in Gray's-Inn Lane, under his own name of Charles Stuart. He arrived in the evening at the house of Lady Prim-



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Comes over to London.

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rose, without giving her any preparatory information, and entered the room, when she had a pretty large company with her, and was herself playing at cards. He was announced by the servant under another name: she thought the cards would have dropped from her hands on seeing him; but she had presence enough of mind to call him by the name he assumed, to ask him when he came to England, and how long he intended to stay there. After he and all the company went away, the servants remarked how wonderfully like the strange gentleman was to the Prince's picture, which hung on the chimney-piece, in the very room in which he entered. He used so little precaution, that he went abroad openly in day-light in his own dress, only laying aside his blue ribband and star; walked once through St James's, and took a turn in the Mall.

Lord Holderness, who was then Secretary of State, was informed of the circumstance by the King, who asked his Lordship what he thought should be done with the Prince. His Lordship was puzzled how to reply; for if he declared his real sentiments, they might savour of indifference to the royal family. The King perceived his embarrassment, and extricated him from it, by adding, "My Lord, I shall just do nothing at all; and when he is tired of England, he will go abroad again."

Charles also came over to London in 1760, to see the shew of the coronation of his present

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Death of his Father.

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Majesty, and was actually present at it. A gentleman to whom he was known, whispered in his ears, "Your Royal Highness is the last of all mortals whom I should expect to see here." "It was curiosity that led me," said the other; "but I assure you," he added, "that the person who is the object of all this pomp and magnificence, is the man I envy the least."

Prince Charles returned to Italy and came to Rome on the death of his father in December, 1766. The latter personage, had been in such a weak and languishing state of health for the last two years of his life, as to be altogether confined to his bed-chamber; and had lived in a very retired manner for many years previous. His remains were interred with kingly honours, they were carried in private to his own parish-church, dressed in royal robes, with the crown upon his head, and the sceptre in his hand, and upon his breast the arms of Great Britain, &c. in gold and jewels. He lay there upon a bed of state, and above him was a throne suspended from the ceiling, on the top of which were the figures of four angels holding the crown and sceptre, and at each corner the figure of Death looking down. Over the bed was this inscription: "JACOBUS, MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ REX, ANNO M,DCCLXVI." with divers medallions in front, representing the several orders of chivalry in Great Britain; the three crowns of England, Scotland, and Ireland; to which were joined the royal insignia, viz. the purple robe lined with ermine,

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Funeral of his Father.

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the velvet tunic ornamented with gold, the globe, the crown, the sceptre, the crosses of St George, St Andrew, &c. From the canopy were suspended four large pieces of drapery of purple silk, on which, at the distance of every six inches, was a row of gold lace, all lined with white fringe; this drapery parted, and hung to the capitals of four columns on each side of the church, which was hung with black cloth, enriched with ornaments of gold. The church was full of chandeliers, with skeletons holding wax tapers. He lay thus three days, and none but the Italian princes and British were allowed entrance. His corpse was then carried upon the same bed of state to St Peter's, to be buried. The procession began with the children of the charity schools, and certain companies which the chief churches sent, amounting to six hundred men, divided into twelve companies, all in ancient and different dresses, with tapers, and about one thousand friars of different orders, with torches, the singing boys of St Peter's, &c. dressed in purple silk gowns, and about fifty canons, all singing hymns. Round the body was the English college, with four Cardinals upon mules covered with purple-velvet trappings; the Chevalier's servants in twelve coaches, lined with black velvet, closing the procession.

The Chevalier, by will, left his real estate, which amounted to about forty thousand crowns a-year, exclusive of pensions, to his eldest son; and likewise a box of jewels belonging to the crown of

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The Pope refuses to acknowledge him King.

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Poland formerly pledged to the Sobieski family, now his in right of his mother, if not redeemed; the jewels of his own family he left to be divided between the two brothers.

On the death of his father, Prince Charles claimed to be acknowledged by the Pope as successor to his father's titles, but this his Holiness refused, not wishing to embroil himself in any question with the British government, but said to be at that time on the ground of the Prince's having renounced the Roman Catholic religion. On this occasion his brother the Cardinal exerted himself very warmly in his behalf, and presented a long memorial to the Pope, with the view either to move the Conclave to change their counsels, or to shame them for their ingratitude to his family, which had suffered so much for adhering to their interests. The Papal government, however, would not alter its resolution, and to mark still stronger its determination, the pension allowed his father of twelve thousand scudi (a scudi is worth about five shillings Sterling), and six thousand more, under the name of a free gift, were withdrawn.

After these indignities, offered to him by a government, for the promulgation of whose faith his family had been excluded from the most brilliant situation, he retired from Rome and lived in great privacy at Albano, a seat of his father's, on a small revenue allowed him by his brother. The Catholic courts also refused to give him the title of King, and he very spiritedly would no longer retain that

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Assumes the title of Count of Albany.

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of Prince of Wales. He assumed the title of Count of Albany, and was thus reduced as an elegant traveller observed, "to an humiliating dependence on those who, in the natural course of events, should have looked up to him for protection and support. What must have been his feelings, when, on a retrospective view, he beheld a series of calamities attending his family, without example in the annals of the unfortunate; calamities, of which those they experienced after their accession to the throne of England, were only a continuation? Their misfortunes began with their royalty, adhered to them through ages, increased with the increase of their dominions, and did not forsake them when dominion was no more."

In 1772 Prince Charles married the Princess Louisa Maximiliana Carolina de Stolberg-Guederan, by whom he had no children. He resided from that period in the neighbourhood of Florence, till his death in 1788. In 1784 he was seriously indisposed, and faint hopes were entertained of his recovery, on which occasion the Cardinal Duke of York made the following protestation respecting his pretensions to the crown of Britain, a copy of which was put into the hands of the Pope, foreign ministers, Cardinals, &c.—

*"Copia simplex Instrumenti apertionis folii Declarationis, Rogat. per acta Cataldi, Curiae Capitolinae notarii, die trigesima prima Januarii, 1788.*

"We, Henry Mary Benoit Clement, Cardinal Duke of York, younger son of James III. King of England: Whereas, by

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 Protest of the Cardinal York.
 

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advice received from Florence, of date the 23d January current, we are on the point of losing the most serene Charles Edward, our very dear brother-german, lawful successor of James III. to the kingdoms of England, France, Scotland, and Ireland, &c. We declare and protest, in the most legal form, with all the solemnities possible, and in every other way that may be of utility and advantage, as in duty bound to our Royal person, and to our country, to reclaim to ourselves the right of succession belonging to us to the kingdoms of England, &c. in case our most serene brother (which God forbid) should be no more; against which cannot be opposed, either before God, or before men, the sacred episcopal character with which we are clothed.

" And whereas, in consideration of the critical circumstances of our Royal Family, we wish to obviate every difficulty that might give us trouble, we mean still to retain the title (which in that event no longer belongs to us) of Duke of York, with all the rights thereto annexed, as we have hitherto been in use to do, and that as a title of *incognito*. For this purpose, we renew every necessary protestation and declaration, in the manner foresaid, and with all possible solemnities. That, in retaining (as we do of our own will, and by way of *incognito*) the title of Cardinal Duke of York, in similar deeds, either public or private, which we have passed, or shall pass, after having obtained the foresaid right of succession, we do not prejudice, much less ever renounce our right, and that which we have, and mean to have and retain always, to the foresaid kingdoms more especially, which belong to us, as the true, last, and lawful heir of our Royal Family, notwithstanding the foresaid title, which we are pleased to retain as a simple *incognito*. Lastly, We expressly declare by the present protest, our will is, that, as soon as Providence shall have disposed of our person, the rights of succession to the crown of England, &c. should remain in their full force and strength, with the Prince to whom the right shall belong by proximity of blood.

" Such being our will, &c.

" From the Palace of our residence, Jan. 27, 1784.

" HENRY, Cardinal," &c.

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Death of Prince Charles,

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The above protest being the same day put under a cover, and sealed up, was deposited in the hands of M. Cataldi, notary, to be opened agreeably to the requisition of his Eminence, which was accordingly done on the death of Charles, when this declaration having been acknowledged, was read.

The shock which Charles's health received in 1784, gradually undermined his constitution, and he at last sunk under an attack of apoplexy and palsy, after an illness of three weeks, at Rome, on the 31st of January 1788, aged sixty-seven years and one month.

The remains of Prince Charles were carried to Frescati to be interred. When the corpse had arrived there, the coffin wherein the body had been privately deposited at Rome was opened, and found to contain royal robes, with the sceptre, crown, and sword, together with all the insignia distinguishing the royal house of the Stuarts. The body was placed in a coffin of cyprus wood, inclosed in one of lead, bearing inscriptions and devices analogous to the rank of the deceased.

In the morning of Feb. 3, the funeral obsequies were celebrated in the cathedral church at Frescati, of which see the Cardinal Duke of York, his brother, was bishop. The church was hung with black cloth, (the seams covered with gold lace), drawn up between the pillars in the form of festoons, intermixed with gold and silver tissue, which had a very magnificent and solemn effect; especially as a profusion of wax tapers were con-

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And Funeral.

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tinually burning during the whole of the ceremony, in every part of the church. Over the great door, and the four principal side altars, there were written in the festoons (in large characters) the following texts of scripture, which were chosen by the Cardinal as allusive to the situation and fortunes of the deceased: Ecclesiastes, xlvii. 17.; Job, xxix. 5; Tobit, ii. 18.; Proverbs, v. 27.; 2 Macab. vi. 31. A large catafalque was erected on a platform, raised three steps from the floor, in the nave of the church, on which the coffin, containing the body, was placed, covered with a superb pall, on which was embroidered, in several places, the royal arms of England. On each side stood three gentlemen, servants of the deceased, in mourning cloaks, each holding a royal banner; and about it were placed a very considerable number of very large wax tapers, in the form of a square, guarded by the militia of Frescati

About ten in the forenoon, the Cardinal was brought into the church in a sedan chair, covered with black cloth, attended by a large suite of his officers and servants in deep mourning. He seated himself on his throne on the right hand side of the great altar, and began to sing the office appointed by the church for the dead, assisted by his choir, which was numerous, and some of the best voices from Rome. The first verse was scarcely finished, when it was observed that his voice faltered, the tears trickled down his cheeks, so that it was feared he would not have been able



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Will of Prince Charles.

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to proceed. However he soon recollected himself, and went through the function in a very affecting manner; in which manly firmness, fraternal affection, and religious solemnity, were very happily blended.

The magistrates of Frescati, and a numerous concourse of the neighbouring people, attended on on this occasion, who were attracted, not so much by their curiosity, or the purpose of assisting the masses which were celebrating at every altar in the church, as a desire of testifying their great respect for their Bishop, who constantly resided amongst them, and daily bestowed upon them temporal as well as spiritual blessings, with a very liberal hand.

Charles left a natural daughter, whom he created Duchess of Albany, and legitimated by a deed recorded in the register of the Parliament of Paris the 6th September 1787, with the approbation of the King of France, and the Count de Vergennes, his minister for foreign affairs. By his will he made this lady his sole heir; to the Cardinal York, his brother, he gave two thousand ounces of silver; to the Chevalier Steuart his confidential secretary, one hundred ducats, with directions to his heiress to continue the respective apartments to his servants, in recompence for their faithful services, and to give them annuities for their lives of the value of their wages.

As to the personal qualities of Prince Charles, he was tall and handsome, of a fair complexion,

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His Character.

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and with a peculiar grace and dignity in his figure; as for those of his heart and understanding, it affords a strong prejudice in their favour, that he was able to gain the esteem, nay, even the friendship, of the celebrated President Montesquieu, who was fond of his company, and went often to see him while he continued at Paris.

The benevolent disposition of the Cardinal was ill suited to contend for worldly distinctions, accordingly very soon after the death of Prince Charles he renounced in a solemn manner, all claims to any title or dignity, except those he had hitherto enjoyed. By his death, which happened a few years ago, the male line of the House of Stuart is extinct, after it had given Kings to Scotland for three or four hundred years, and, by the Princesses of it, Sovereigns to almost all Europe.

END OF VOL. II.





